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THE MORALITY TRADITION IN THE POETRY OF EDWARD TAYLOR

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A CERTAIN dramatic element is prominent in the poems of Edward Taylor. Even in the most metaphysical of his moods a tendency to introduce action, to employ dialogue, to individualize character is noticeable. At times this histrionic method contrasts sharply with the poet's devotional theme; at other times the two are inseparable, and images are bodied forth which otherwise might be difficult to perceive. In either case, the flair for drama is characteristic of his genius and, together with his colloquialisms and coinages, largely responsible for the individuality of his content. It is a particular rather than a general content.

God who shakes the world "like a Squitchen or a Wand," the saints singing in the coach "As they to Glory ride therein," the "Flipping Soule," the spider in his maneuvers to catch the "silly Fly," Christ emerging "from the Counthouse shining" to cancel humanity's debt, Elijah on his way to heaven "in a Fiery Charriot's shine, And Whirlewinde," the court where God is judge, Christ the attorney, and "The Holy Ghost Regesterer," Joseph as he "did from his jayle to glory run," Samson who "Took Gaza's Gate on's back: away went hee"¹—these are examples of Taylor's dramatic proclivity. Best of all is his version of Jonah's story, an instance also of his notable narrative skill:

Jonas did type this thing, who ran away
From God and, shipt for Tarsus, fell asleep.
A storm lies on the Ship: the Seamen they
Bestir their stumps, and at wits end do weep:
'Wake, Jonas:' who saith, 'Heave me over deck;
The Storm will Cease then; all lies on my neck.'

They cast him overboard out of the ship.
The tempest terrible lies thereby still.

¹ *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (New York [1939]), pp. 31, 109, 113, 114, 133, 135, 146, 153, 156.

A Mighty Whale nam'd Neptunes Dog doth skip
 At such a Boon, whose greedy gorge can't kill,
 Neither Concoct this gudgeon, but its Chest
 Became the Prophets Coffin for the best.²

The dramatization of his material is nowhere more conspicuous than in Taylor's principal poetic work, *Gods Determinations*. The siege of man's castle, man's quaking self-defense, the appearance of the divine coach, the pursuit of the recalcitrant souls, the image of Satan as a barking cur are the most memorable incidents. And here there is something more than a general literary tendency. Here a specific tradition is recognizable—the tradition of the morality play.

By Taylor's time, it is true, the moralities had left their impress upon both drama and epic poetry, so that it is not possible to say how direct was his acquaintance with them. It is interesting to note, for example, that he was born near Coventry, where a Corpus Christi procession was still to be seen, and that he probably belonged to the weavers' profession, which had sponsored one of the craft pageants in the preceding century.

On the other hand, the intermediary sources through which Taylor could have learned the morality formula are far more numerous. In poetry Spenser and Milton constituted the major channels, with the Fletchers, Quarles, Sylvester, and Marvell exhibiting traces of the old plots and characters. Two differences, however, are marked between Taylor's adaptations of the moralities and those of the Cambridge group: he lacks the classical background upon which they constantly drew, and they do not have his consummate dramatic skill.

In any case, whether the morality tradition reached Taylor directly or indirectly or both, the matter is relatively unimportant. Nor is it necessary to claim an exact source in order to recognize the parallels which exist between his long poem and this widely popular, variously adapted literary form. Compared with the dozen or more existing moralities and interludes, *Gods Determinations* has most points in common with four: the *Coventry XI* pageant, the *Castle of Perseverance*, *Mary Magdalen*, and *Wisdom*. Yet one cannot be sure that Taylor actually knew any of these plays. The parallels, such as they are, are parallels of plot, of form, and of charac-

² *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

terization—matters which remained much the same in all moral plays.

PLOT

By far the greatest similarity between *Gods Determinations* and the moralities is the plot—the aspect of them which was most generally borrowed also by Taylor's immediate predecessors. Being a Puritan divine, he was probably more intrinsically interested in it than most of those poets and playwrights. In his hands, naturally enough, it became a vehicle for the exposition of Calvinistic theology. But the doctrine affected the plot less than the plot determined the structure and the content of the poem.

The very structure of *Gods Determinations* is more dramatic than lyric. Four distinct divisions are formed by the thirty-six poems: poems 1 and 2 constitute a prologue;³ 3-7 picture the fall of man; 8-30 are exclusively dialogue between the Soul, Satan, Christ, and the Saint regarding the salvation of man; 31-36 may be considered a choral epilogue sung by the redeemed souls. Thus an introduction and a conclusion frame the two principal divisions of the whole, in which the double plot unfolds: man's fall and redemption.

In developing this plot Taylor employs two of the three themes of morality plays: the Debate of the Heavenly Graces and the Conflict of Vices and Virtues. The third, the Coming of Death, is not present in *Gods Determinations*. Like the earlier moralities, the poem thus represents a combination of the themes, and to some extent an interplay of them. Whereas the Debate of the Heavenly Graces is confined to the Fall plot (poem 4), the Conflict of Vices and Virtues appears not only here (poem 3) but also in the Redemption plot (poems 8-30).

The Debate of the Heavenly Graces, an adaptation of the secular *débat*, was a natural link between the pageants of the fall and the redemption in the dramatic cycles. It occurs twice in the existing moralities: in the *Coventry XI* pageant and in the *Castle of Perseverance*. In both plays the scene is in heaven before God; in the *Castle of Perseverance* he is enthroned. The four daughters of God—Truth, Justice (Righteousness in the *Castle of Perseverance*), Mercy, and Peace—engage in a debate regarding the fate of fallen man. The first pair urge that he be sent to hell; the second plead

³ In the manuscript, however, the Prologue appears last of all, leaving only the Preface at the beginning.

for pardon. In the Coventry play the whole Trinity act as judges and the debaters are reconciled by the offer of the Son to die for man. In the *Castle of Perseverance* the occasion is the later fate of a particular sinner; God decides in favor of Mercy and Peace, and instructs them to extricate man from the clutches of the Bad Angel and bring him to heaven.

In *Gods Determinations* the four daughters of God are reduced to two: Justice and Mercy.⁴ Taylor, however, does not call them daughters. There is some suggestion at the conclusion of their debate that the heavenly parliament has increased in number:

And other titles come in Majesty,
All to attend Almighty royally:⁵

But whether or not these are the other two sisters—Righteousness and Peace—is not clear.

The dialogue between Taylor's Justice and Mercy is recorded in the fourth poem, and occupies the traditional intermediate position between the accounts of man's fall and his redemption: the third poem treats of his fall, the eighth and succeeding poems of his redemption. More specifically, the introduction of the debate here in *Gods Determinations* recalls the pattern of the *Castle of Perseverance*: it follows the scene in which man loses possession of his "castle."

The scene of the dialogue in Taylor's poem is "Before the Bench of the Almighty's Breast," and the participants seem to be situated behind or beside a "Desk."⁶ The picture of a courtroom—a popular image with Taylor—thus appears in place of a throne room. The debate is occasioned when God catches sight of fallen and fearful man, "Sculking on his face," and apparently takes his fate under consideration. Thereupon Justice and Mercy fall to arguing the case. There is no judge, as there is in the *Castle of Perseverance* and the Coventry play, but Justice yields to Mercy at the outset.

The arguments of the two fall under four points, antiphonally recited, two of which echo arguments of the moralities. First, each speaker rather obviously defines his philosophy in terms of his char-

⁴ Justice and Mercy were also two of the attributes of God, his moral perfections, according to Covenant theology.

⁵ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 43. See also p. 40, where Mercy promises to invite the Soul to a "Court of Justice."

acter: "Justice not done no Justice is" and "Mercy not done no Mercy is."

If Justice wronged be, she must revenge:
Unless a way be found to make all friends.⁷

Such logic is, of course, a characteristic of medieval and Renaissance rhetoric, and Taylor frequently indulged in it. Its occurrence just here, however, is reminiscent of the speech of Truth in *Coven-try XI*:

When Adam had-synned þou seydest þore
þat he xulde deye and go to helle
And now to blysse hym to resstore
twey contraryes mow not to-gedyr dwelle;⁸

and of Truth in the *Castle of Perseverance*:

I am "Veritas," & trew wyl be,
in word & werke, to olde and newe.
was neuere man, in fawte of me,
dampnyd nor savyd, but it were dew. . . .⁹

The second argument introduced by Taylor's Justice and Mercy is likewise a point made in the heavenly debate of the moralities, as well as a cardinal tenet of the theology he was expounding. Justice stipulates that before Man can be saved Mercy must become incarnate and dwell in the world:

I'le take thy Bond: But know thou this must doe:
Thou from thy Fathers bosom must depart,
And be incarnate like a slave below,
Must pay mans Debts unto [the] utmost marke.
Thou must sustain that burden, that will make
The Angells sink into th' Infernall lake.

Nay, on thy shoulders bare must beare the Smart
Which makes the Stoutest Angell buckling cry;
Nay, makes thy Soule to Cry through grieve of heart,
ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHT[H]ANI,
If this thou wilt, come then, and do not spare:
Beare up the Burden on thy shoulders bare.¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸ *Ludus Coventriae; or The Plaie Called Corpus Christi* (London, Published for the Early English Text Society, 1922), p. 99.

⁹ *The Macro Plays* (London, Published for the Early English Text Society, 1924), p. 172.

¹⁰ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Mercy is thus identified with the Son, who is in the *Coventry XI* pageant the character who resolves the debate by proposing to die for man. In this play, after conferring with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Son assumes the role of atoner because it is on account of his gift of wisdom that man originally sinned. According to Ramsay, this was the occasion for the debate in its original form: the council of the Trinity which resulted in the Incarnation.¹¹

From here to the end of the heavenly debate in *Gods Determinations* the arguments seem to be Taylor's own. Mercy not only agrees to pay man's debt, but also promises to free him from bondage to sin and to bestow upon him Inherent Grace and Faith—both necessary to salvation in the Puritan scheme. The third point made by Mercy and Justice is that the proud souls will disdain them and the humble will fear them. Finally, they agree to divide these problem groups: Justice will coerce the proud, and Mercy will lure the humble.

There is, furthermore, in *Gods Determinations* a hint of the costumes called for in staging the Debate of the Heavenly Graces in the moralities—a touch unusual among the seventeenth-century adaptations of the theme. The *Castle of Perseverance* has the following instructions for the mounting of the scene: "þe iiij dowteris shul be clad in mentelys; Merce in wyth, Rythwysnesse in red, al togedyr; Trewthe in sad grene, & Pes al in blake. . . ."¹² An attempt to make Mercy white and Justice red is noticeable in Taylor's poem. Justice is introduced dressed in fire:

Offended Justice comes in fiery Rage,
Like to a Rampant Lyon new assaile,
Array'de in Flaming fire now to engage,
With red hot burning Wrath, poore man unbaild,
In whose Dread Vissage sinfull man may spy
Confounding, Rending, Flaming Majesty.¹³

Justice threatens to subdue the proud souls with "Red burning Coales from hell." On the other hand, Mercy, who "Comes as meeke As any Lamb," promises man a white robe:

And with these hands he rightly shall put on
My milkwhite Robe of Lovely Righteousness.¹⁴

¹¹ Robert Lee Ramsay, Introduction to Skelton's *Magnysfycence* (London, Published for the Early English Text Society, 1925), p. clxxvii.

¹² *The Macro Plays*, p. 76.

¹³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 38, 41.

The second morality theme employed by Taylor in *Gods Determinations* is the Conflict of Vices and Virtues. By far the most frequent subject of the moralities, it constitutes the plot of more than half the existing plays—*Hickscorner*, *Wisdom*, *Mankind*, *Nature*, *The Four Elements*, *Mundus et Infans*, *Everyman*—and occurs also in combination with other plots in *Mary Magdalen* and *The Castle of Perseverance*. It became the most important theme in early English drama and in poetry was sonorously echoed by the great epic of Taylor's own era.

The Conflict of Vices and Virtues admits of a few more variations than the Debate of the Heavenly Graces. Its normal form, apparently developed from the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, is as follows: Man is beset on the one hand by Vices, on the other by Virtues, all of which contend for his allegiance. The conflict has two battles, the first of which results in a victory for the Vices. But after Man lives in sin a while, the Virtues renew the struggle and win the second battle by persuading Man to repent.

The chief variations of this theme are provided by the *dramatis personae*. The protagonist—Mankind or Humanity or Anima—is a constant character (supposedly introduced with the lost Paternoster play), but the antagonists are various. There are three groups of them: the Vices and Virtues (normally the Seven Deadly Sins and their opposites, with frequent substitutions such as Ignorance, Hastiness, Folly, Experience, Contemplation, Occupation); the agents of Good and Evil (the Good Angel or Reason or Confession or Studious Desire, and the Bad Angel or Beelzebub or Titivillus or Mischievous); the powers of Good and Evil (God, Christ, Nature; and the Devil, the World, the Flesh).

In the conflict in *Gods Determinations* this cast of characters is greatly reduced. Like the later moralities, which could be played by a traveling company of four or five men and a boy, Taylor's cast has four main characters. The central figure is the Soul, which is also represented in the plural as the Second and Third Ranks of souls. The contending characters are Satan, Christ, and a Saint, or, in the formula of the moralities, a power of Evil, a power of Good, and an agent of Good; the Saint corresponds to the Good Angel. There are no Vices or Virtues proper. However, the accusations of Satan picture the Soul already in bondage to five of the Seven

Deadly Sins—Pride, Sensuality or Lechery, Wrath, Envy, and Covetousness—as well as to a host of minor vices: malice, backbiting, folly, wantonness, hypocrisy, blasphemy, cowardice.¹⁵ The Virtues, traditionally less prominent than the Vices, are personified briefly by the Soul:

If these [God's ordinances] were my Delight, I should Embrace
The royall Retinue of Saving Grace:
Peace, Patience, Pray're, Meekness, Humility,
Love, Temp'rance, Feare, Sincerety, and Joy.¹⁶

The relationship between these four major characters in *Gods Determinations* recalls *Mary Magdalen* and *Wisdom* more than other moralities. They are the only plays in which the characters of Satan and Christ are introduced in the Conflict theme. In *Mary Magdalen*, as in *Gods Determinations*, the side of Good is represented by two characters: Christ and the Good Angel (the Saint, as Taylor calls him). Christ, however, is provided by the miracle rather than the morality plot of the play. And Satan, unlike Taylor's Satan, deals with Mary indirectly through the lesser devils, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Bad Angel.

On the other hand, *Wisdom* shows man in direct contact with both Lucifer and Christ, as he is in *Gods Determinations*. Only after Lucifer has corrupted him does he turn man over to the Vices. *Wisdom* is thus the only morality in which both man's fall and redemption are accomplished without the aid of intermediaries, and thus is closer to the Protestant spirit of Taylor's poem. In this play Wisdom is a name for Christ, as the full title explains: *A Morality of Wisdom who is Christ*. The metaphor, originating in the Hebrew wisdom books, seems to be suggested in a speech of Taylor's Satan. Addressing the souls which have surrendered to Justice and Mercy and ridiculing the support they offer the side of Christ, he cries:

You last did last the longest: but being ta'ne,
Are Prisoners made, and Jayle Birds must remain.
It had been better on the Turff to dy,
Then in such Deadly slavery to ly.
Nay, at the best you all are Captive Foes.
Will Wisdom have no better aid than those?

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 52, 55-58, 71.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Trust to a forced Faith? To hearts well known
To be (like yours) to all black Treason Prone?
For when I shall let fly at you, you'll fall:
And so fall foule Upon your Generall.
Hee'l Hang you up alive then, by and by;
And 'Ile you wrack too for your treachery.¹⁷

The Conflict of Vices and Virtues in *Gods Determinations* consists of the traditional two battles, one a temporary victory for Evil and the other a permanent victory for Good. They are separated in the poem by the Debate of the Heavenly Graces. Thus the first seems to represent man's original apostasy and the second, postatone-ment, his continual sin. In the moralities a much shorter period of time elapses between the two battles, comparable to a sinful season in the life of an individual man.

The first battle in the poem, disproportionately shorter than the second, is a siege of man's castle. The allegory, enormously popular in medieval poetry after the *Romance of the Rose*, and until the time of Spenser's Red Cross Knight, occurs also in the moralities: there are the Castle of Magdalen and the Castle of Perseverance. In connection with the former there is no conflict; Mary is led docilely from her father's house by Lechery. The siege of the Castle of Perseverance, however, is long and violent. Sinful man, having repented, takes refuge here from the assaults of the Seven Deadly Sins. The castle does not fall, but man is persuaded by Covetousness to abandon it.

In Taylor's poem the castle appears to be man's body, the fort his heart, and both are captured by Sin and its volunteer band. That the conqueror in this battle should thus seem to be the flesh bears out the suggestion that Taylor intended it to represent the original fall of man. Terrified by his defeat, and particularly by the thought of the divine punishment it will bring, man flees and hides his face upon the earth. In this behavior, and in his ridiculous accusation of his wife, "Who threw me in my best Cloaths in the Dirt," he recalls Adam in the garden of Eden.

When God espies him hiding, the debate between Justice and Mercy follows, in which Justice accedes to Mercy on condition that Mercy atone for man's sins in an incarnation. The doctrine of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49. See also the association of Wisdom and Christ in *Coventry XI*, referred to on page 6 above.

atonement for the elect is next dramatized in a scene memorable for its details of action: God sends his coach to bring the Saints to a heavenly feast, and those who decline the invitation are pursued across the earth by Justice and Mercy. The fleeing sinners fall into three ranks, the first of which surrenders immediately to Mercy, the second and third to Justice.¹⁸

The second battle in the Conflict of Vices and Virtues now begins. Whereas the first, the siege of the castle, took the form of violent action, the second takes the form of argument. The former is the more primitive aspect of the theme. But the argumentative mode of combat being more suitable for Taylor's didactic purpose, the greater part of his piece (poems 8-30) is devoted to it.

The content of the argument, however, is not reminiscent of the moralities, whose Vices tempt man to specific sins and picture the delights of an evil life. Taylor's Satan, on the contrary, is on the defensive, and all his efforts are to intimidate man by demonstrating that he does not deserve heaven. His character is predominantly that of a fallen angel, spitefully hopeful of making all sinners suffer with him. Or, in Taylor's homely image, he is God's watchdog:

As Spot barks back the sheep again,
Before they to the Pound are ta'ne,
So he, and hence 'way goes.¹⁹

It is an unusual and highly individual characterization among the numerous literary treatments of the Devil.

In this second battle the redemption of man, usually accomplished in the moralities by the Virtues or the Good Angel, is shared by two characters. The First Rank of souls is saved by Christ (poems 8-18); the Second and Third Ranks by the Saint or Good Angel (poems 19-30). Whereas Satan's tactic was to frighten the Soul, Christ and the Saint encourage him in speeches equally uncharacteristic of the Virtues in the morality plays. Especially does the Saint minimize the Soul's sins and emphasize the fulness and the beauty of divine pardon. His words of comfort inspire the lyrical "epilogue" of the saved souls, and the whole piece concludes

¹⁸ Thus the First Rank seems to be the humble souls whom, according to their dialogue, Mercy was to convert, and the Second and Third to be the proud souls whom Justice was to capture. But, judging from the ensuing dialogues between the Soul, Satan, Christ, and the Saint, they all seem to fall in the category of humble souls whom Satan has shamed.

¹⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

with an exaltation of Calvinistic grace rather than of Renaissance virtue.

To the three generally acknowledged themes of the morality plays, two of which appear in *Gods Determinations*, there is sometimes added a fourth: the Debate of the Soul and the Body. Though there is no extant example of it in drama, the inference from the prologue of the *Pride of Life* is that it formed the lost second part of the play. Its content, at any rate, is known from the popularity of the motif in medieval poetry, beginning with the thirteenth-century *Debate of the Soul and Body*: the Soul and the Body dispute which is more guilty; in the *Pride of Life*, if the prologue is correct, the Soul was saved by the intercession of Our Lady. By the time of Marvell's brief version the religious element has largely disappeared. In *Gods Determinations* the theme is expressed by the Soul alone, soliloquizing:

Alas! my Soule, product of Breath Divine,
For to illuminate a Lump of Slimé.
Sad Providence! Must thou below thus tent
In such a Cote as strangles with ill s[c]jent?
Or in such sensuall Organs make thy stay,
Which from thy noble end do make thee stray?
My nobler part, why dost thou laquy to
The Carnall Whynings of my senses so?

.
My Muddy Tent, why hast thou done so ill
To Court and kiss my Soule, yet kissing kill?
Why didst thou Whyning, egg her thus away,
Thy sensuall Appetite to satisfy?
Art thou so safe and firm a Cabinet,
As though thou soaking lie in nasty wet,
And in all filthy Puddles: yet the thin
Can ne're drench through to stain the Pearle within?²⁰

In his use of these two or possibly three plots Taylor's chief alteration, as might be expected, is theological. There is, in fact, little theology in the moralities beyond summary accounts of the Atonement; their content is predominantly ethical. And in the adaptations of Taylor's predecessors and contemporaries the chief addition was, as has been pointed out, classical. *Gods Determinations*, how-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

ever, is an avowed exposition of Covenant tenets. The debate between Mercy and Justice is strictly a Puritan relation of the Second Covenant, or Covenant of Grace, in which God voluntarily superseded Justice with Mercy. The conflict of Satan, the Saint, and Christ for the Soul is actually an account of the development of Inherent Grace, planted in the Soul by Mercy, against various obstacles. Most of them are mental rather than moral obstacles: doubt, fear, shame, procrastination; even Satan's allusions to some of the Seven Deadly Sins are for the sake of paralyzing the Soul with contrition. And precisely because of this mental or philosophical nature of Taylor's poem, the presence of the dramatic moral themes is important. His use of them makes *Gods Determinations* not only easier to follow, but immeasurably more entertaining and more moving.

FORM

Less obvious than Taylor's use of morality plots in *Gods Determinations* is his imitation of their form. Here, however, the influence upon him may be more direct. If the plots were by his day widely diffused in literature, the morality conventions governing dialogue and verse forms had not been generally preserved.

The mere use of dialogue in poetry is common enough in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in developing the plots of the Debate of the Heavenly Graces and the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues Taylor had no alternative. But in two particulars his manipulation of it adheres to an older custom. There is first of all a definite pattern of who speaks to whom, and there is also a principle determining the variation of the verse forms.

More properly, Taylor's "dialogue" is the dramatic device of assigning speeches to several persons, since the number of speaking characters is not two but eight (counting the Soul and the Second and the Third Ranks as three speakers). Only two poems, excluding the prologue and epilogue, do not contain assigned speeches. Yet the conversation never includes more than two persons at one time. There is rather a succession of dialogues, during each of which the other members of the cast remain silent.

Mercy and Justice, appearing in the Debate plot alone, speak only to each other. The other representatives of Good—Christ and the Saint—speak only to the Soul; the Ranks address Christ, but he

does not speak to them. At the other moral extreme, Satan speaks to the Soul and the Ranks and they to him, but he has no words with his virtuous adversaries. The Soul, between the two sides, addresses and is addressed by all three: Christ, the Saint, and Satan.

This pivotal position of the Soul in dialogue and action is characteristic of the more argumentative moralities. In *Wisdom*, Lucifer and Christ never meet; in *Mary Magdalen* even the Harrowing of Hell is indirectly related. In plays of violent action, on the other hand, the opposing sides fight each other directly rather than through intermediate Man. The small number of persons speaking at any one time in *Gods Determinations* recalls also a detail of the actual production of the plays, though the similarity is probably chance. In the outdoor performances it was necessary for certain characters to remain on their scaffolds even while not participating in the immediate scene.

Taylor's remarkable versatility in versification has been compared with that of the metaphysical poets, and a few of his unusual forms have been matched among them. In *Gods Determinations*, where the variety of verse forms is most pronounced, there seems to be a principle behind the variation; it is not the result of sheer religious exuberance or poetic experimentation. And this principle in turn may be traced to the versification of the moralities. It is the change of verse and strophe to characterize different persons and situations of the play—a technique introduced to English drama through the moral plays.

At first only the length and weight of the line were varied; later the contrast was in the stanzas. As early as the *Castle of Perseverance* a special stanza was introduced for the three lowest vices: the *Schweifreimstrophe* or tail rhyme. In *Wisdom* appeared the first complete system of contrasted meters: two stanza forms for the two moral sides. With *Nature*, rhyme royal became the regular stanza for Virtue as the tail rhyme was for Vice. The tendency was for the long and complicated strophes to become shortened, the couplet being at last the favorite. In the later plays the metrical distinctions were abandoned—in *Mary Magdalen*, *Everyman*, *Hickscorner*, and *Mundus et Infans*.²¹

In general, the same kind of metrical variation employed for the

²¹ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxxiv-cxlvii.

same purpose is apparent in *Gods Determinations*. Taylor introduces twelve metrical forms, eight of which appear only once; a ninth is used twice. The main narrative is related in only three forms: the rhymed couplet (14 poems), the quatrain rhyming *a a b b* (4 poems), and the six-line stanza rhyming *a b a b c c* (6 poems). Two poems are a combination of forms; the couplet and the quatrain.

The couplet thus has its traditional function of carrying forward the ordinary sequence of events: the preface, the castle episode and man's defense of himself, the appearance of the coach and man's rejection of it, five of Satan's six speeches to the Soul and his two speeches to the Ranks, the Ranks' appeal to Christ and their "threnodiall dialogue," part of two dialogues between the Soul and the Saint. The quatrain, related to the couplet, is used for one dialogue between Satan and the Soul, one of the two dialogues between the Ranks, and the four dialogues between the Saint and the Soul.

These twenty poems, depicting scenes of comparable tone and importance, comprise the greater part of the whole. The third stanza form repeatedly employed is assigned to six more serious and lofty occasions: the Prologue (as an invocation it is more dignified than the introductory Preface), the dialogue between Mercy and Justice, the Soul's two appeals to Christ, the Saint's two monologues. The remaining nine verse forms are employed as follows: two for the two speeches of Christ, seven for the eight paeans of joy sung by the Soul to Christ (poems 18, 30-36).

All the stanza forms, with the exception of the two speeches of Christ and the eight paeans of the Soul, are iambic pentameter, rhyming either *a a* or *a b a b c c*. The two speeches of Christ are iambic tetrameter, one of them with a trimeter sixth line, having the same rhyme scheme, *a a b c c b*. The paeans are pindarics with uneven line lengths but simple rhymes. It thus appears that Taylor relies on changes in stanza rather than line and rhyme to denote changes in theme and character.

Of the eight speaking characters in *Gods Determinations*, Christ is most effectively characterized by the verse in which he speaks. There is no other use of these two nearly identical stanza forms, or, indeed, of any stanza with a predominating four-foot line. In each case his speech follows the Soul's two appeals to him in the six-line

stanza, and contrasts melodiously and symbolically not only with the preceding poem, but with the verse of the entire piece:

Peace, Peace, my Hony, do not Cry,
My Little Darling, wipe thine eye,
Oh Cheer, Cheer up, come see.
Is anything too deare, my Dove,
Is anything too good, my Love,
To get or give for thee?²²

The characters Mercy and Justice, speaking in only one poem, are confined to the six-line stanza. The Saint when delivering a monologue uses this same stanza; when engaged in a dialogue with the Soul he uses the more pedestrian couplet and quatrain. On the opposite, or evil side, Satan speaks either in couplets or quatrains.

Situated between these two moral sides, the Soul and the Second and Third Ranks adapt their speeches to whichever side they address. Thus the Soul speaks in couplets only to Satan, in quatrains to Satan and the Saint, in the six-line stanza and the pindarics only to Christ. The Ranks, who remain in sin longer, speak in couplets and quatrains indiscriminately, in pindarics only to Christ.

The use of alliteration in the moralities to designate pomposity, the heavy line for dignity, and the half line for the humorous Vice, does not appear in *Gods Determinations*. Nor are any of the actual verse forms of the plays borrowed. It is a principle rather than a pattern that Taylor has grasped. It is a principle, however, which contributes invaluable to the composition of the poem. For if the soberness of its subject is enlivened by the use of morality plots, the stiffness of it gains a supple charm by the adaptation of morality forms.

CHARACTERIZATION

Though the traces of the morality tradition in *Gods Determinations* are chiefly matters of plot and of form, a slight effect on characterization also seems present. It is noticeable in the character of Satan in the first part of the poem. In his later conversation with the Soul, Satan is more cynical than terrifying, and in the role of God's watchdog he is ludicrous, suggesting the old Vice. But his first two appearances are in the ranting, roaring, fire-eating tradition. He is apparently dressed in red and comes noisily onto the scene:

²² Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Then Satan in a red-hot fry rage
Comes bell[ow]ing, roaring, ready to ingage,
To rend and tare in pieces small, all those
Whom in the former Quarrell he did lose.²³

In like manner Lucifer enters in *Wisdom*:

Owt harow, I rore,
For envy I lore,
My place to restore,
God hath mad a man;
All cum þey not thore,
Woode & þey wore,
I xall tempte hem so sorre,
for I am he þat syn be-gane.²⁴

In order the more speedily to deceive the Soul, Taylor's Satan, like Milton's, assumes the disguise of an angel:

How doth this Answer [Christ's speech] Mercies Captives Cheer!
Yet those whom Justice took still Drooping were.
And in this nick of time the Foe, through spite,
Doth like a glorious Angell seem of Light.
Yet though he painteth o're his Velvet smut,
He Cannot yet Conceal his Cloven foot.²⁵

Lucifer in *Wisdom*, who recalls "I was a [*sic*] angell of lyghte," executes the same plan, dressing himself as "a goodly galont":

For, for to tempte man in my lyknes,
yt wolde brynge hym to grett feerfullness,
I wyll change me in-to bryghtnes,
& so hym to be-gyle. . . .²⁶

Satisfied that the Soul is won, Satan in *Gods Determinations* now casts off his disguise and bears down on his victims, breathing out fire:

Now Satan counts the Cast his own thus thrown:
Off goes the Angels Coate, on goes his own;
With Griping Paws, and Goggling Eyes draws nigher,
Like some fierce Shagg'd Red Lion, belching fire:
Doth stoutly Charge them home that they did fall
And breake the Laws of their Choice Admirall. . . .²⁷

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁵ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ *The Macro Plays*, p. 46.

²⁶ *The Macro Plays*, pp. 46, 48.

This suggests the stage direction for Belial in the *Castle of Perseverance*: "he þat schal pleye Belyal, loke þat he haue gunne-powder brenny[n]ge In pypys in his handis & in his eris, & in his ers, whanne he gothe to bat[tel]."28

The whole subject of characterization, in fact, points up any discussion of the morality form or of its influence. For the distinguishing feature of its allegory is the personification of abstractions rather than the relation of actual history through fable. This is what comprises the essential "medieval" spirit of the morality, since it thus expresses the "Realistic" philosophy of the Middle Ages. So Mr. Ramsay sees in Milton's use of morality themes the workings of a medieval mind, which, however, progressed steadily—like the age in which he lived—from the abstract to the concrete.²⁹

Now Taylor employed both kinds of allegory: personified abstractions—as in *Gods Determinations* and the *Sacramental Meditations*, and fables or parables—as in "An Address to the Soul Occasioned by a Rain" and "Upon a Spider Catching a Fly." But the former greatly predominates in his poetry, not always in conjunction with a morality plot, and in the *Meditations* extending over a period of forty-three years. The fact is significant. For it suggests that his, too, was a mind more responsive to medieval than to Renaissance influence, and that his fondness for the moralities was but one aspect of that response.

Much as Taylor's creed and profession would seem to oppose this susceptibility, they may, on the contrary, have defended it. They may have deepened in him what was already a preference. For the Calvinists, while breaking with the medieval forms, remained Realists in the controversy over universals, and the American school, whose spokesman was Taylor's great contemporary Edwards, traveled even farther from the position of the Nominalists. Taylor may thus have been led to the morality tradition, not by one, but by a combination of influences: a keen dramatic sense, a congeniality with the thought of the Middle Ages, and long habits of theological speculation.

²⁸ *The Macro Plays*, p. 76.

²⁹ Robert Lee Ramsay, "Morality Themes in Milton's Poetry," *Studies in Philology*, XV, 123-158 (April, 1918).

EDWARD TAYLOR, HELLENISTIC PURITAN

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AS THE DISCUSSION goes forward over Edward Taylor's indebtedness to medieval moralities and Renaissance religious poetry, none of his critics¹ has noted—or, apparently, noticed—that in *Gods Determinations* the dialogue between Justice and Mercy follows the conventional pattern of a Theocritan song contest. Like Theocritus's two competing shepherds, these two personifications extemporize in alternating stanzas, Justice as challenger beginning and, at each turn, setting a theme which Mercy, by the rules of the contest, must take up and try to improve upon. Taylor indeed uses the word "contest" both in introducing and closing the dialogue, and begins it with Justice's offering the usual challenge:

... Come out

To handy gripes, seing thou art so stoute.

Mercy takes up the Challenge. . . .²

The same form, less obvious because of the smaller use of similar wording in the first lines of the paired stanzas, appears in the later dialogues between Soul and Satan and Soul and Saint.³ Taylor, like Theocritus, varies the pattern from time to time. He shifts the initiative from Justice to Mercy halfway through the first dialogue, gives an extra stanza to Satan at the end of the second, and concludes the third with a long, nonantiphonal speech comparable to the uninterrupted song which sometimes furnishes the shepherd's envoy. Recognition of the antiphonal pastoral lyric model used for these dialogues explains certain departures from the practices of the morality plays noted by Thomas H. Johnson and Miss Nathalia

¹ *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (New York [1939]); Austin Warren, "Edward Taylor's Poetry: Colonial Baroque," *Kenyon Review*, III, 355-371 (Summer, 1941); Wallace Cable Brown, "Edward Taylor: An American Metaphysical," *American Literature*, XVI, 186-197 (Nov., 1944); and Nathalia Wright, "The Morality Tradition in Edward Taylor," in the present issue of *American Literature*, XVIII, 1-17 (March, 1946).

² *Poetical Works*, pp. 36-42.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54 and 81-89.

Wright: that the characters develop no dramatic individuality,⁴ and that the customary four debaters—Truth, Justice, Peace, and Mercy—are reduced to two, and the usually large cast for the second morality theme to four.⁵

Recognition of the Theocritan model also necessitates a modification of Johnson's conclusion that the inventory of Taylor's library, since it "oddly" contains no English verse except Anne Bradstreet's, does not furnish a clue to his poetic sources.⁶ The non-English poetry in the library consists of six volumes: the Idyls of Theocritus, a volume of the Greek minor poets, Homer's *Iliad*, Horace's poems, Seneca's tragedies, and the works of Statius. There is in addition a work entitled *Prosodia; de syllabarum quantitate, ex veterum poetarum auctoritate*.⁷ Miss Wright is clearly mistaken in her belief that Taylor lacked classical background;⁸ even a superficial search through his poetry reveals more than the song-contest pattern to indicate that he drew on the classical poets in his library. The Ben Jonson-John Donne tradition of which he is so representative an heir, however, inclined his taste to the Hellenistic school of Greek and Roman poets who were the inspirers in the Renaissance of what Professor Austin Warren terms "baroque" poetry.⁹ Homer may be suggested in the battle scenes of *Gods Determinations*, and Horace undoubtedly lurks in such lines as these counseling the golden mean:

He tempts to bring the soul too low or high,
To have it e're in this or that extream:
To see no want or want alone to eye:
To keep on either side the golden mean.¹⁰

But the main tenor of the poem, like that of the English metaphysical poets, is Hellenistic, reflecting both the Greek and Latin representatives of Alexandrianism found in the American poet's library.

Upon cursory examination the most concrete evidences of these

⁴ Johnson, Introduction to *Poetical Works*, p. 20.

⁵ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 7.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁷ Items 78, 87, 98, 122, 134, 135, and 136 in "Taylor's Library," *Poetical Works*, pp. 210-215.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 356.

¹⁰ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 95. Horace's lovers' quarrel, *Odes*, III, 9, would also furnish a precedent for the adaptation of pastoral song contest to dramatic dialogue.

influences seem to come from Theocritus and the epigrammatists collected into *The Greek Anthology*.¹¹ Theocritus yields the clue to two other departures of *Gods Determinations* from the practices of the moralities which have been noted by Miss Wright. One is the tone of Christ's comforting words to the soul which flees from Satan to him, lamenting:¹²

Is Grace's Honey Comb, a Comb of Stings?

to which Christ tenderly replies:

Peace, Peace, my Hony, do not Cry,
My Little Darling, wipe thine eye,
Oh Cheer, Cheer up, come see.
Is anything too deare, my Dove,
Is anything too good, my Love,
To get or give for thee?

This stanza reminds one of the Hellenistic poets' frequent representations of Eros as a little boy, often weeping childishly for one reason or another, and often fondly consoled by his mother, Aphrodite, in a very human way. One such poem in Theocritus, "The Honey Stealer," seems to have been Taylor's specific inspiration for this passage. Here the mischievous lad, stung by a bee while stealing honey from the hive, runs for comfort to his mother, and addressed by her as "honeyed one," *μελισσαις*, is assured that he will easily prove a match for the bee. Taylor follows the stanza quoted above with several more containing Christ's assurances to the soul that Satan shall not harm him.¹³ The other striking variation from the morality play mentioned by Miss Wright is the depiction of Satan as God's sheepdog, found in the same passage; she calls this "an unusal and highly individualistic characterization among the numerous literary treatments of the Devil."¹⁴ Therefore it is all the

¹¹ Taylor's Theocritus, although not dated, would include, unless earlier than the sixteenth century, the other Greek bucolic poets also. His *poetae minores Graeci*, Cambridge, 1635, was presumably *The Greek Anthology* or selections from it.

¹² See Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, and Theocritus, XIX. See *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, with an English translation by J. M. Edmonds (London and New York, 1928), Loeb Classical Library, pp. 234-235. All volume and page references hereinafter to the Greek bucolic poets are to this edition. Taylor also calls the soul a "dove" (the bird of Aphrodite), describing its wings of silver and gold (*op. cit.*, p. 42). The quotation given above shows his identification of the winged dove and the winged Eros as symbols for the aspiring soul.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

more significant to find in Theocritus the source of this concept also. Taylor's Soul begs Christ to tie up Satan:

I know he is thy Cur, therefore I bee
Perplexed lest I from thy Pasture stray,

and Christ replies:

As Spot barks back the sheep again,
Before they to the Pound are ta'ne,
So he, and hence 'way goes.¹⁵

Spot is obviously the "flock-dog" often mentioned in Theocritan pastorals, and by one shepherd given the name "White-Tail." The specific passage which seems to have caused Taylor to name his dog from another physical characteristic speaks of "that spotted flock-dog a-barking near by the kids."¹⁶

In another passage of Taylor's poem Satan comes to the attack like a fierce lion:

With Griping Paws, and Goggling Eyes draws nigher
Like some fierce Shagg'd Red Lion, belching fire.¹⁷

Thus came the Nemean lion against Hercules, of which the hero says, in the Theocritan account, that all men believed "it was some God sent him to vex the children of Phoroneus because he was wroth concerning some sacrifices." After Hercules had shot at the lion from ambush, "the ravening beast rolled around his eyes and beheld me, and lashing all his tail . . . did . . . from a great way off spring upon me. . . ." ¹⁸ In the light of this parallel perhaps it is not illogical to suggest that the next Idyl—the story of Pentheus's terrified flight from the Bacchanals, who were angered at his defiance of Dionysus, and his capture and dismemberment at their hands—was in the poet's mind when he pictured man fleeing in terror before God: seeing that "Vengeance pursues his trace,"

Bereav'd of Reason, he proceeds now so.
Betakes himselfe unto his Heels in hast,

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁶ *Greek Bucolic Poets*, pp. 112-113 (Theocritus, VIII).

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁸ *Greek Bucolic Poets*, pp. 316-321 (Theocritus, XXV). Use of the same simile for Justice (Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 36) shows a logical association of this personification with God's "cur" and with the Nemean lion sent by God "to vex the children of Phoroneus." There are also suggestions of Theocritus's phraseology in the lines on Justice.

and when further on the souls pursued by Justice and Mercy are finally cornered, some of them, like Pentheus, "hackt in pieces are."¹⁹

The poets of the *Greek Anthology* apparently furnished Taylor many suggestions for metaphor and simile. His "Crumb of Earth" in the first line of the Prologue to *Gods Determinations* was applied by the Greek Antipater of Thessalonica to the Cyclades:

Ye desert islands, crumbs of land. . . .

The epigram "On a Tapestry," which begins,

In me Carpo, imitating all by her shuttle's labour at the loom, depicted accurately all the fruitful land, encompassed by Ocean, . . . and the blue sea as well.

may have suggested the use of the figure of earth's tapestry,²⁰ although Professor Warren quotes a similar figure from DuBartas.²¹ Be that as it may, the subjects of many of Taylor's homely metaphors are also the subjects of Greek epigrams, and his two favorites—honey and the distaff—are distinctly Greek in flavor; his partiality to the spinning and weaving figures is no doubt due to his Warwickshire background. The most interesting elaboration of this imagery is found in one of his shorter poems to be discussed presently.

Seneca and Statius appear also to have had a share in *Gods Determinations*, which is a combination of the four poetic forms represented by the poets in Taylor's library: epic, pastoral dialogue, dramatic monologue, and lyric. The use of his diverse classical sources will account for the abrupt shifts in style, "without adjustment . . . now rhetorical or juristic, now colloquial," and the switching back and forth from the figure of sin storming the castle of the heart to the "humanly touching simile," as noted by Professor Warren.²² Homer and Statius furnish models for heroic battles against walled forts, and the pastoral poets and epigrammatists for the homely and tender metaphors; pastoral drama inspires colloquial dialogue and Senecan tragedy such rhetorical monologues as the one beginning:

¹⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, 47.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 31, 98; and *The Greek Anthology*, with an English translation by W. R. Paton (London and New York, 1916-1918), Loeb Classical Library, III, 232-233, 418-419 (Book IX, 421 and 778). All references to the *Anthology* are made to this edition.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 364-365.

We humbly beg, oh Lord, to know our Crime:
That we thus tortur'de are before our time.²³

This speech, moreover, not only reflects Seneca's style, but also suggests the situation in his *Hercules Oetaeus* when the hero, suffering torture from the poisoned shirt of Nessus, prays to his father Zeus. Similarly Taylor's conception of the fallen soul as crippled and unable to see clearly²⁴ may have been suggested by the hero of *Oedipus*. The dominant influence in the poem, however, appears to be Theocritus, who in himself furnishes an example of dramatic narrative in various forms, mingling stage directions with dialogue, monologue, short epic, and lyric. The flowers and perfumes and stanzaic refrains used by Taylor in some of the lyrics which conclude *Gods Determinations* are also found in Theocritus,²⁵ although the kinship is to Horace in a liking for variety in metrical pattern. Taylor no doubt profited also by a study of prosody in his work on this subject "*ex veterum poetarum auctoritate*." *Gods Determinations* may be called a medieval morality play patterned on classical pastoral drama and written by a Renaissance metaphysical poet.

Three of Taylor's shorter poems are especially interesting for comparison with the Greek poets in his library. In "Huswifery," which begins,

Make me, O Lord, thy Spin[n]ing Wheele compleat;
Thy Holy Worde my Distaff make for mee.

he is using a commonplace of the Greek love epigram in which the poet expresses a longing to be some inanimate object used by the loved one;²⁶ and the title of the poem, taken in conjunction with its content, suggests the opening lines of "The Distaff" of Theocritus as the source for the American poet's thought:

Distaff, friend of them that weave and spin, gift of the Grey-eyed Huswife above to all good huswives here below. . . .²⁷

This prayer for wisdom in terms of the gift of the Greek Pallas is in accord with Taylor's habit, already demonstrated, of transferring

²³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 55.

²⁵ For refrains, see Theocritus I and II. The "sacred close" described in Inscriptions IV, *Greek Bucolic Poets*, pp. 366-367, accords with Taylor's use of the figure of "Christ's Curious Garden" in the lyric on church fellowship (p. 102), the description of which he develops in the lyric on the church (p. 106).

²⁶ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 116. The most frequent object thus used by the Greek love poet is the cup; see *Anthology*, I, 210-211, 262-263, 286-287 (Book V, 171, 261, 295).

²⁷ *Greek Bucolic Poets*, pp. 348-349 (Theocritus, XXVIII).

pagan divinities to Christian interpretation. The next two poems are examples of whole poems developed from the suggestions of specific Greek epigrams. Taylor's "Upon a Spider Catching a Fly" not only reflects the Hellenistic fondness for poems about insects, but appears to be directly inspired by one such poem from the *Anthology*:

The spider, that had woven her fine web with her slender feet, had caught a cicada in her crooked meshes. But when I saw the little songster lamenting in the fine toils I did not pass hastily by, but freeing him from the nooses, I comforted him and said: "Be saved, thou who callest with the musical voice."²⁸

In his poem Taylor, after describing a wasp's capture by a spider and drawing from it an allegory of the soul's capture by sin, concludes with the hope that God's grace will release us mortals from sin's web, whereupon

We'l Nightingale sing like. . .²⁹

Still more convincing is the light shed by a poem in the *Anthology* on the obscurities of Taylor's poem "An Address to the Soul Occasioned by a Rain." The first stanza contains both obscure words and an obscure association of figures:

Ye Flippering Soule,
Why dost between the Nippers dwell?
Not stay, nor goe. Not yea, nor yet Controle.
Doth this doe well?
Rise journey'ng when the skies fall weeping Showers,
Not o're nor under th' Clouds and Cloudy Powers.

After two stanzas in which the poet develops the theme of vacillation over his ministerial duties, he introduces the figure of a blacksmith's forge:

Shall I be made
A sparkling Wildfire Shop,
Where my dull Spirits at the Fireball trade
Do frisk and hop?
And while the Hammer doth the Anvill pay,
The fire ball matter sparkles e'ry way.³⁰

²⁸ III, 204-205 (Book IX, 372). This epigram must also have suggested the queer conceit in *Gods Determinations* (*Poetical Works*, p. 65) of a fly humming God's praise in gratitude for salvation.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Comparison with the following epigram is illuminating:

Never, my lamp, mayest thou wear a snuff or arouse the rain, lest thou hold my bridegroom from coming. Ever dost thou grudge Cypris; for when Hero was plighted to Leander—no more, my heart, no more! Thou art Hephaestus's, and I believe that, by vexing Cypris, thou fawnest on her suffering lord.³¹

Taylor was obviously identifying his "flippering" soul first with the flickering candle flame, then with the journeying lover made faint-hearted by the rain, and finally with the anxious heart of the speaker, whose own figure of this heart as a spark in the forge of Hephaestus he takes over for his last two stanzas; the "Nippers" of the first stanza are clarified as the candle snuffer, and the connection of the rain with the whole becomes apparent.

As for the rest of Taylor's poems, the imagery of the "Meditations" suggests the same Greek fountainhead, and his other verse—elegies and anagram, punning, and pattern poems—is merely an example of seventeenth-century popular types for which the Greek bucolic poets and epigrammatists are the well-known original sources. Statius's *Silvae* may also have had some influence on his composition of occasional verse.³² Just how great is his indebtedness to the Greek and Latin poets contained in his library can be determined only by further investigations; but these cursory findings will help to explain some of his characteristics and intents. One interesting result which emerges unexpectedly as one looks back on the whole is the realization that not mere artistry nor even random spiritual suggestion governed the Puritan poet's choice of classical parallels in thought and imagery, but a scholastic logic which builds up a kind of Calvinistic pantheon by seeing God in Zeus, his attributes of Divine Wisdom and Divine Love in Zeus's goddess daughters Pallas and Cyprian Aphrodite, his agent Divine Grace in Zeus's son the demigod Hercules, and the Soul of his elect in Eros,

³¹ *Anthology*, I, 264-265 (Book V, 263). The translator's note explains that a flickering candle was considered a sign of rain.

³² This is printed in Thomas H. Johnson, "The Topical Verses of Edward Taylor," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIV, 513-554 (Feb., 1942). Compare the freak poems of the *Anthology*, III, 86 ff. (Book IX) and V (Books XIII-XV) and the *Bucolic Poets*, pp. 487-511. Perhaps Taylor is thinking of the pattern poems when he says in *Gods Determinations* (*Poetical Works*, p. 69),

"Your Holy Conference and talkings do
But for a Broken Piece of Non-Sense go."

winged offspring of Divine Love. Perhaps these pagan associations with Calvinism, combined with the close association of spiritual with fleshly love implicit in Taylor's use of sources familiar to his learned fellow Puritans, are the answer to what Johnson calls "the most teasing of all questions that remain unanswered . . . why he directed his heirs never to publish his verse."³⁸ Even if his Puritan contemporaries could accept the rest, it seems unlikely that they would have taken in their stride a Christ who used the tones of an Aphrodite, or a Puritan divine who spoke the fleshly language of a Herrick.

³⁸ Introduction, *Poetical Works*, p. 19.

TAJI'S QUEST FOR CERTAINTY

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A PARALLEL of the main allegory in Herman Melville's *Mardi* is to be found, I think, in the adventure of the fifth pilgrim on the isle of Maramma.

This pilgrim the allegorist characterizes as "a youth of an open, ingenuous aspect" whose ambition is to scale the mountain Ofo, the great, inaccessible peak of the island.¹ By this peak, according to Mardian legends, the sinful god Roo descended from the skies, but was unable to return—a descent which is clearly intended to remind the reader of the fall of Lucifer. By the same peak Alma (Christ) is believed by many to have made his ascent into heaven.² Other peculiarities of the mountain are these: Men who dwell in its profound shadow turn habitually sad;³ many who seek to climb it slip from its rocks and perish, though trying different paths, all equally futile;⁴ a few have climbed high enough to be invisible to those below;⁵ finally, its aspect and history seem to suggest that only the plain, and not the peak, is intended for the habitation of man.⁶ These are hints enough to convey the impression that Ofo represents Truth, or at least a pathway by which Truth may be sought.⁷

On Maramma, in the course of the fifth pilgrim's adventure, occurs a dialogue of considerable import between him and Pani, the blind guide of the island, who offers to lead him to the peak by the surest route.⁸ This offer is firmly refused; for the young pilgrim has much faith in his own powers and, though admitting the possibility of failure, prefers to go alone.

¹ *Mardi*, II, 8-9. References are to the Standard edition, 16 vols. (London, 1922-1924).

² *Ibid.*, II, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 2.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ In relation to the sadness which results from living in the shadow of Truth, cf. Melville's constant references to revelation as ultimately sad, as in Babbalanja's dream of heaven, *Mardi*, II, 379. Possibly Melville took his cue at least partly from Ecclesiastes 1:18.

⁸ *Mardi*, II, 8-9, for the entire conversation. Note the parallel between the pilgrim's willingness to perish in his quest (II, 19) and Melville's "Give me an utter wreck, if wreck I do" (II, 277).

"But how knowest thou the way?"

"There are many ways: the right one I must seek for myself."

"Ah, poor deluded one," sighed Pani; "but thus is it ever with youth; and rejecting the monitions of wisdom, suffer they must. Go on, and perish!"

Turning, the boy exclaimed—"Though I act counter to thy counsels, oh Pani, I but follow the divine instinct in me."

The pilgrim evidently believes, with Babbalanja, that God has given man reason in order that he shall use it in the pursuit of truth. As that intensely honest and humanly fallible philosopher explains, there is no "impiety in the right use of reason, whatever the issue. Smote with superstition, shall we let it wither and die out, a dead limb to a live trunk. . . ? Or shall we employ it but for a paw, to help us to our bodily needs. . . ? Can we starve that noble instinct in us, and hope that it will survive?"⁹

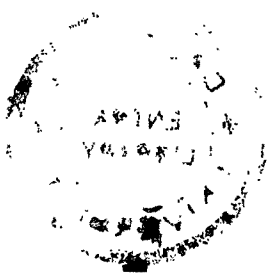
Even the brutalized Pani secretly is moved by the young pilgrim's honesty and his courageous purpose. The guide vaguely mistrusts the precepts upon which his own life and occupation are based, and he suspects that most men may be hiding their doubts under the guise of religious and philosophical affirmation. "Why, upon this one theme, oh Oro!" he cries, "must all dissemble? Our thoughts are not our own. Whate'er it be, an honest thought must have some germ of truth. But we must set, as flows the general stream. . . ." He confesses his inability to reason logically about immortality or the nature of the human soul. Worse yet, he doubts his own doubt and, anguished, protests: "Oh, ye all-wise spirits in the air, how can ye witness all this woe, and give no sign?"¹⁰ Pani, then, is at heart an ally of the seeker after truth, although he has long since given over the pursuit himself and blindly follows, even where he seems to lead.¹¹

Before the temple of Oro, supreme god of Mardi, the fifth pilgrim's reliance upon his noble instinct carries him into serious trou-

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 122-123.

¹⁰ For Pani's monologue, see *ibid.*, II, 20-21. Cf. Media's comment (II, 287-288): "Brother gods, and demi-gods, it is not well. These mortals should have less or more. . . . Like lost children groping in the woods, they falter through their tangled paths; and at a thousand angles, baffled, start upon each other. And even when they make an onward move, 'tis but an endless vestibule that leads to naught."

¹¹ Yet in public Pani glibly assures Taji that "in Maramma [institutionalized religion], if anywhere, the long-lost maiden [Yillah, symbol of Ultimate Truth?] must be found" (II, 4-5).



ble. On the grounds that he would be debasing the image and handiwork of God, he declines to genuflect before the temple. Thus he defies the conventions of organized religion—a stand fraught with peril. In spite of his plea that "I love great Oro, though I comprehend him not," he is condemned by the officials of the temple, seized, and borne away as a human sacrifice to Oro, "in the name of Alma." "Thus perish the ungodly," says Pani.¹²

The irony and the tragedy of this denouement set the tone of *Mardi*; and the fifth pilgrim's tale, though brief, roughly parallels Taji's experience in the pursuit of Yillah. From this bare sketch of the interior allegory involving the pilgrim we turn, then, to a consideration of the larger allegory which it resembles.

Taji's quest begins following Chapter LXIV, the turning point of *Mardi*. Here the plot ceases to be a straightforward narrative of adventure and becomes instead something far more engrossing, an allegory delightfully imaginative and profoundly thoughtful. In Chapter LXV, Taji launches his canoe, accompanied by Media (the Intellect, directing him where to search), Mohi (History), Babballanja (Philosophy), and Yoomy (Poetry). All, it should be noted, are interested in the search for the fabulous Yillah.

Now, who is Yillah? Obviously, to understand Melville's allegory at all, the reader must be able to identify her. Though she has been called many things, from "an ill-defined symbol"¹³ to the "faded ecstasy" of Melville's passion for Elizabeth Shaw,¹⁴ modern critics have come to recognize in Yillah the symbol of Ultimate

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 30.

¹³ By Gordon Hall Gerould, in *The Patterns of English and American Fiction* (Boston, 1942), p. 355.

¹⁴ By Raymond Weaver, in *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), p. 279. Philarète Chasles, in *Anglo-American Literature and Manners . . .*, trans. by Donald MacLeod (New York, 1852), p. 128, finds that she represents human happiness. Percy H. Boynton says, in *More Contemporary Americans* (Chicago, 1927), p. 35, that she is "unattainable Beauty." "The lost maiden may symbolize either truth or happiness," declares Van Wyck Brooks in *Emerson and Others* (New York, 1927), p. 179. Russell Blankenship, in *American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind* (New York, 1931), pp. 383-384, calls the pursuit of Yillah "the fruitless quest of man for beauty." George C. Homans, in "The Dark Angel: The Tragedy of Herman Melville," *New England Quarterly*, V, 707 (Oct., 1932), speaks of it as "a search for ideal happiness." Viola Chittenden White, in her unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Symbolism in Herman Melville's Writings" (University of North Carolina, 1934), describes Yillah as happiness derived from ideal love. Stephen A. Larrabee terms her "happiness," in "Melville against the World," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXIV, 410-418 (Oct., 1935). H. A. Murray, Jr., in a review of Mumford's biography, characterizes Taji's experience as an exploration of the Unconscious; see *New England Quarterly*, II, 526 (July, 1929).



Truth.¹⁶ She holds in her symbolical rose-pearl the secret of life.¹⁶ In seeking her, Taji, I believe, is bent upon the same goal as the pilgrim who aspired to climb the peak of Ofo.

But if Yillah represents Ultimate Truth, and since the point of the story seems to be that such knowledge is inaccessible to man, how can we account for the fact that Taji actually possessed her for a time? This constitutes perhaps the weakest link in the allegory. Yet Melville, it will be remembered, makes much of the confusion and the lack of realism with which Taji regarded Yillah during his brief period of happiness with her. To him she was hallowed by mysteries, and he spent much of his time with her attempting merely to ascertain her identity.¹⁷ Only after he had lost her did he learn the truth of her origin and cease to think of her as a being semidivine.¹⁸ What he had possessed, he then discovered, was not really Truth but merely an instinctive and youthful philosophy which he had mistaken for it. That is, Taji, like many another

¹⁶ I take it the following are in substantial agreement: Lewis Mumford, in *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 105, who, however, defines the search for truth somewhat narrowly; Walter Fuller Taylor, who, in *A History of American Letters* (Boston and elsewhere, 1936), p. 133, sees in Yillah "a symbol of spiritual satisfaction"; Willard Thorp, in *Herman Melville, Representative Selections* (New York, 1938), p. lxviii; Ralph Henry Gabriel, who, in *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), p. 259, calls Taji's journey a search for a philosophy of life; F. O. Matthiessen, in *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (London, Toronto, and New York, 1941), p. 379; and William Ellery Sedgwick, who says, in *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 38, that "*Mardi* has for its theme the human Mind's quest for truth." With respect to Thorp's comment (pp. lxviii-lxix) that the ultimate mystery probed is the answer to Babbalanja's question, ". . . why create the germs that sin and suffer, but to perish?" (*Mardi*, II, 376) I think it should be made clear that this applies specifically to "those who . . . die unregenerate; no service done to Oro or to Mardian" (*loc. cit.*), not to mankind in general. Babbalanja in his dream inquires into the source of evil, certainly a "last mystery" but not, in my opinion, the crux of the problem; that is, it can hardly be said to constitute the whole objective of the inquiring mind.

A new approach to Yillah has been made by Merton M. Sealts and William Braswell. The latter, in *Melville's Religious Thought* (Durham, N. C., 1943), pp. 86-93, finds in her a symbol for the spiritual soul and in Hautia a symbol for the vegetal soul, according to the psychology of Paracelsus and Campanella. This interpretation is interesting and probably fruitful, but it has not yet been sufficiently elaborated to provide an ample basis for the allegory.

¹⁷ Cf. Babbalanja's use of the pearl as a symbol: "I am intent upon the essence of things; the mystery that lieth beyond; the elements of the tear which much laughter provoketh; that which is beneath the seeming; the precious pearl within the shaggy oyster" (*Mardi*, II, 36). Cf. also his comment on Yoomy's poetry: "Not a song you sing, but I have thought its thought; and where dull Mardi sees but your rose, I unfold its petals, and disclose a pearl" (*ibid.*, II, 137).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 226.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 357-358.

confident young person, had been led by reliance upon his intuition to believe that he had achieved ultimate knowledge through divine revelation or through Nature, whereas his philosophical satisfaction had stemmed rather from pride and the superficiality of his inquiries into the universe. His happiness with Yillah represents, to my way of thinking, the kind of bliss which a young man achieves when he breaks away from formalized and institutionalized beliefs and beats his own wings against the doubts and mysteries of the world. For a time he soars, but only until he begins to think deeply. The deeper his thoughts and the wider his experience, the greater his uncertainty; and his Yillah disappears.

It is necessary at this point to recall that Yillah was rescued from Aleema and his numerous brood (representing human institutions, particularly religion), who would have destroyed her as a sacrifice to questionable, if not false, gods. To rescue her, Taji was forced to violate the victim's sanctuary and to slay Aleema, in these acts marking his full and violent break with fixed beliefs and religion based chiefly upon superstition. But such rejection of the institutions of civilization, however corrupt these may be, is not accomplished with impunity. Three avenging sons of Aleema follow Taji relentlessly throughout the rest of his journey. They serve to show that the world never forgives the individual who denies the accepted falsehoods,¹⁹ and they strongly resemble the officials of the

¹⁹ Matthiessen observes that Melville, determined to probe the essence of things, understood how, in doing so, he forfeited the sympathy of his fellow-men and remained "ever unfixed" (*op. cit.*, p. 379). Cf. Mrs. Morewood's disapproval of Melville's "irreverent" opinions and language, in a letter to George Duyckinck (1851) reproduced in part by Luther S. Mansfield in "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield . . .," *American Literature*, IX, 48 (March, 1937). Perhaps one should cite also in this connection the opening sentence of *Moby-Dick*.

Homans, without explaining precisely what he means, avers (*op. cit.*, p. 712) that the three avengers "form a symbol of remorse for the violence with which Yillah was obtained." This interpretation, though it would seem to add little to an understanding of the allegory, is echoed by Braswell and Sedgwick. Braswell suggests that they also symbolize the painful consequences of Taji's devotion to introspective reasoning (*op. cit.*, p. 92), but he fails to specify what these "painful consequences" really are. Sedgwick says (*op. cit.*, p. 51): "Together they represent guilt, remorse and a mortal need of expiation and atonement or, more generally, his need to submit his will. . . . They also refer generally to that burden which is inseparable from a man's spiritual self-consciousness, which has gone by the names of the knowledge of good and evil and the sense of sin, regardless of any particular sinful act. . . ." I think Sedgwick ascribes too much to the influence of Catholicism and believe that the pursuers represent the purely human chastisement which follows Taji's defiance of human institutions. His questioning of his own motives (*Mardi*, I, 157, 162, etc.) is natural, since honesty requires him to consider that, in rejecting the common explanations of life, he may be wrong and simply deceived by pride.

temple in Maramma who punish the fifth pilgrim for daring to question the traditional beliefs and customs. Both Taji and the pilgrim commit the same crime—rejection of traditional institutions (especially, organized religion) and reliance upon an inner consciousness of truth. “Those who boldly launch, cast off all cables; and turning from the common breeze, that’s fair for all, with their own breath fill their own sails.”²⁰

Of all the islands visited, the only one which Melville describes in terms entirely favorable is Serenia, where men live according to the teachings of Alma. Babbalanja finds here the end of his journeying. But why does Taji not pause here also? We are tempted perhaps to believe that the failure of the Serenian doctrines to win Taji’s adherence reveals Melville’s dissatisfaction with Christianity. But obviously Serenia cannot provide a solution to Taji’s quest for certainty; for what it offers is a *way of life*. To Babbalanja this has become a sufficient solution, and he readily gives up all hope of attaining Ultimate Truth. “Some things there are we must not think of,” he concludes. “Beyond one obvious mark, all human lore is vain.”²¹ For Taji, however, the quest continues. Not wise enough or humble enough to “seek no more; but rest content, with knowing naught but Love,”²² he resumes the voyage, foredoomed. Babbalanja warns him: “Taji! for Yillah thou wilt hunt in vain; she is a phantom that but mocks thee. . . .”²³ Taji remains adamant in his purpose, and the philosopher can only add: “Taji! be sure thy Yillah never will be found; or found, will not avail thee. Yet search, if so thou wilt; more isles, thou sayst, are still unvisited; and when all is seen, return, and find thy Yillah here.”²⁴ Babbalanja does not mean to say, of course, that Yillah actually will be found in Serenia, but rather that the primitive Christian way of living, once the hope of attaining Ultimate Knowledge has been given up, will prove a substitute far more compatible with Taji’s humanity than his impossible ideal. Babbalanja himself has learned the futility of relying upon his own powers to prune his mind of errors in order to train himself “down to the standard of what is

²⁰ *Mardi*, II, 276.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 371. Cf. Raphael’s words to Adam in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (Book VIII, ll. 167-168):

“Sollicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him serve and feare. . . .”

²² *Mardi*, II, 374.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 380.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 381.

unchangeably true."²⁵ He has come to the realization of how unprofitable for man must be the speculation which leads no farther than the Penultimate, leaving Ultimate Truth unachieved. Serenia, then, will yield no Yillah; but it will teach a way of life which is in itself a greater and more fitting truth for man to learn. For speculative reason it will substitute love.

Taji, self-willed, flees as a kind of desperate last resort into the arms of Hautia, long his temptress, who represents, I believe, sensuality, or man's animal nature.²⁶ Between Yillah and Hautia there seems, to Taji, to be some connection, though he is vague as to just what it can be. In the end he discovers that this is largely an illusion. There would appear to be some hints in man's animal nature which might lead him to rather deep self-knowledge (or at least so the Freudians would have us believe); that part of him constitutes the foundation, as it were, of his being. Thus we should be surprised if, after searching the rest of the mind fruitlessly, Taji were to overlook the animal nature. His inquiry, though eventful, proves a brief one. Like Ozonna, who found in Flozella "but the phantom of Ady, and slew the last hope of Ady the true,"²⁷ Taji sees glimpses that remind him of Yillah; but, since his excursions with Hautia involve sensuality and sin, Yillah is actually farther away than ever. What Flozella offers is a substitute for Yillah, a way of life exactly opposite to that of Serenia.²⁸ This likewise Taji rejects.

For Taji, the Fool of Truth (as Pierre is the Fool of Virtue), there can be only one result. Since Yillah cannot be found in this world, he must seek her in the other.²⁹ His experience embodies the futility, which Melville undoubtedly felt, of searching in the human mind for Ultimate Truth. For "on this head," Media would have us know, "final, last thoughts you mortals have none; nor can

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 80-81.

²⁶ Cf. Homans (*op. cit.*, p. 711): "The tragedy of Taji is his discovery that Yillah is not his dream but an earthly woman, another Hautia." Sedgwick avers (*op. cit.*, p. 52): "Yillah was connected with Hautia in as much as she represented joy of the flesh." I think both comments somewhat beside the point; Hautia seems too evil to represent anything either womanly or joyful.

²⁷ *Mardi*, II, 393. Perhaps "slew the last hope of Ady" because sin results in the death of the soul.

²⁸ Hautia's message is essentially that of *The Rubáiyát* and similar works which exalt, with a certain cynicism, physical enjoyment over virtue or the pursuit of truth.

²⁹ See Tyrus Hillway, "Taji's Abdication in Herman Melville's *Mardi*," *American Literature*, XVI, 204-207 (Nov., 1944).

have; and, at bottom, your own fleeting fancies are too often secrets to yourselves. . . . And though in your dreams you may hie to the uttermost Orient, yet all the while you abide where you are. . . . [Y]ou mortals dwell in Mardi, and it is impossible to get elsewhere."⁸⁰

⁸⁰ *Mardi*, II, 57.

NOTES AND QUERIES

AHAB'S "BLOOD-QUENCH": THEATER OR METALLURGY?

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"I WANT it of the true death temper!" cried Captain Ahab, as he besought his harpooners for blood in which to quench the barbs of the special harpoon designed for Moby Dick. In this scene at the forge Ahab shows the same taste for theatrical ceremony that dominated an earlier chapter ("The Quarter-Deck") in which the crew drank death to the White Whale from the sockets of their harpoons. No doubt it is chiefly the dramatic effect of quenching the harpoon in human blood that led Melville to introduce it, but there is also another possible and quite practical reason why he might have done so: blood at that time had long been regarded as a very good quench for steel—considerably better than plain water.

There is a great deal of lore about blood and other liquids for the quenching of steel, much of it dating from antiquity.¹ Even to the present, blacksmiths and other metal workers have held on to beliefs about quenching media that are largely folklore.² Blood, however, did seem to produce better steel in Damascus swords, which were often "death tempered" in human blood, the most extreme practice being that of running the hot sword through the body of a condemned criminal or a slave.³ Some modern technologists believe that blood so used was more effective than water, probably about as good as oil or salt water, though the tissues of the body may actually have had more to do with the effect than the blood itself.⁴ On technical grounds no categorical statement

¹ I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Roach, Technical Data Department of the General Motors Corporation Research Laboratories, and to Professors M. L. Begeman and L. R. Benson of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Texas, for detailed information on this subject.

² For example, water for quenching used to be imported to the United States from Sheffield, England, since it was thought to contain some special virtue. (See Allan D. Risteen, "Tempering," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1944 ed., XXVI, 406.)

³ R. H. Sherry, *Steel Treating Practice* (New York, 1929), p. 102.

⁴ "Quenching Oil Developed on Art of Ancient Damascus," *Scientific American*, CLXVIII, 157 (April, 1943).

can be made, since the rate of cooling is important as well as the quenching medium; but in *Moby-Dick*, the significant thing is that Ahab could easily have believed that blood was better.

The question next arises, If Ahab really could be expected to know such things, why did not Melville tell us that he did? In answer, one recalls the fact that Melville frequently refuses to make things oversimple for his readers ("The Cassock," for example, mystifies many). A parallel situation appears when Ahab replaces the reversed compass needle: he produces the new needle by a special application of magnetism unknown to the ignorant and superstitious crew. Melville in this instance leaves his reader to infer (more readily, perhaps) such knowledge on Ahab's part; he relates only what Ahab did. Ahab's, like Melville's, was a resourceful and inquiring mind. When we add to this the fact that officers on whaling vessels were constantly called upon for detailed knowledge of several crafts, including blacksmithing, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Ahab could have known of other and presumably better quenches than Perth (the *Pequod's* smith) did. If so, it would have been to his interest to conceal that information and let the purely dramatic effect do its work. Finally, still other aspects of the episode show us Ahab's familiarity with the work of the forge: he states that horseshoe stubs—the "best and stubbornest stuff" to be had, Perth tells him—"will weld together like glue from the melted bones of murderers"; he welds several rods into one to form a stronger shank for the harpoon; he carefully tests each rod for strength, finding a flaw in one of them. Theoretically and practically, Ahab appears to have been an expert smith—as the "child of fire," most appropriately so.

In addition to its possible practicality, the blood-quench as a literary description is unusual. "In popular literature," says Sherry, "the forge has received frequent mention and has been highly favored in poetry and romance, but few if any references to the quenching bath will be found. There was little to picture and no substance for romance."⁵ *Moby-Dick* affords one modification of this statement, and one that is appropriate in tone. That Melville's imagination was able to see "stuff for woe to work on" in the commonplace, neglected aspects of life is one of the central facts of

⁵ Sherry, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Moby-Dick: this single instance of "substance for romance" in a lowly, practical situation is quite in keeping with the spirit of the whole work.

Whatever Ahab's motives might have been, then, his actions were actually more rational than at first they seem. The spectacular episode of the blood-quench at the forge, unplausible as it sounds, has a long tradition of practice behind it. If the steel of the harpoon might well have been stronger for its barbaric baptism, Tash-tego, Queequeg, and Daggoon did not shed their blood in vain.

SOURCES OF THOREAU'S BORROWINGS IN A WEEK

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WHEN HENRY D. THOREAU wrote his first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), he pitchforked into it many quotations from his extensive reading at Harvard College and in the years immediately thereafter. Some of these poetic passages in Henry's Commonplace Book and Second Extract Book were identified by his friend William Ellery Channing in the copy of *A Week* which Henry gave him, but not all, and not always correctly. The editors of the authorized edition of Thoreau's works made a partial attempt to give the authors of the quotations (see Riverside edition of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, pp. 519-523), but were not able to name them all, and made several mistakes; moreover, they made no attempt to indicate the selection from which the extract was taken. For these reasons I give below the correct sources, including author, work, and line. I have used the pagination of the Riverside edition of *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*.

- p. 2 "*Fluminaque obliquis cinxit*," Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 39-46.
- p. 3 "Beneath low hills," Emerson, "Musketaquid," stanza 2.
- p. 12 "And thou Sinois," Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 1548-1549.
- p. 12 "Sure there are poets," Denham, "Cooper's Hill," lines 1-4.
- p. 15 "Come, come, my lovely fair," Quarles, "Christ's Invitation to the Soul," *Emblems*, IV, 7, lines 7-8.
- p. 17 "Were it the will," Pindar in Emerson's Commonplace Book, but in *Miscellanies*, p. 356, Thoreau attributes it to Plutarch.

- p. 18 "By the rude bridge," Emerson, "Concord Hymn," lines 1-8.
- p. 26 "... renning aie downward to the sea," Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 1549.
- p. 43 "... a beggar on the way," "Robin Hood and the Beggar," stanzas 2 and 3 (in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*).
- p. 43 "That bold adopts," Quarles, *Emblems*, II, 15, lines 8-11.
- p. 53 "The river calmly flows," W. E. Channing, "Boat Song," lines 1-5, printed in *Dial*, I, 223 (October, 1840).
- p. 56 "There is an inward voice," W. E. Channing, "The River," lines 1-7, printed in *Dial*, III, 329 (January, 1843).
- p. 57 "Sweet falls the summer air," W. E. Channing, "Boat Song," stanza 4.
- p. 60 "A man that looks on glass," George Herbert, "The Elixir," stanza 3.
- p. 63 "Bedford, most noble Bedford," from a contemporary ballad now lost.
- p. 70 "Some nation yet shut in," William Habington, "*Nox nocti indicat scientiam*," lines 25-26; Thoreau probably found it in Chalmers's *English Poets*, VI, 476b.
- p. 71 "And Iadahal," John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, IV, 2427-2432.
- p. 71 "Jason first sayled," John Lydgate, "A Poem against Idleness, and the History of Sardanapalus," stanza 18 (last two lines), stanza 19 (first line), and stanza 20 (four lines) (pp. 88-89 in Percy Society ed., London, 1840).
- p. 79 "The seventh is a holy day," Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 771 (p. 59 of Loeb Classical Library ed., London, 1914).
- p. 85 "Where is this love," Quarles, *Jonah*, lines 715-718.
- p. 85 "The world's popular disease," Quarles, *Emblems*, I, 8, lines 1-3.
- p. 85 "... all the world's a stage," Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II, vii, lines 139-140.
- p. 109 "Doth grow the greater," William Alexander, "A Paraenisis to Prince Henry," lines 37-40 (in Chalmers, V, 411b).
- p. 115 "So silent is the cessile air," Alexander Hume, "Thanks for a Summer's Day," stanzas 18, 22.
- p. 116 "*Jam laeto turgent*," Virgil, *Eclogues*, VII:48.
- p. 116 "*Strata jacent passim*," Virgil, *Eclogues*, VII:54.
- p. 118 "As from the clouds appears," Homer, *Iliad*, XI, 62-66.
- p. 118 "While it was dawn," *ibid.*, XI, 82-91.
- p. 119 "They, thinking great things," *ibid.*, VIII, 553-565.
- p. 119 "Went down the Idaean mountains," *ibid.*, XV, 81-84.
- p. 120 "For there are very many," *ibid.*, I, 156-157.

- p. 120 "Then rose up to them," *ibid.*, I, 246-247.
- p. 121 "Homer is gone," Philip J. Bailey, *Festus*, p. 160 (1855 ed.).
- p. 123 "You grov'ling worldlings," Quarles, *Emblems*, II, 9, stanza 7.
- p. 124 "Merchants, arise," Quarles, "A Feast for Worms," *Divine Poems*, I, medit. 1, 3-4. (I am indebted to Miss Fannie Ratchford, of the University of Texas, for help in identifying this passage as well as other passages from Quarles.)
- p. 125 "To Athens gowned he goes," Quarles, "Job Militant," Sec. 13, lines 23-24. W. E. Channing's *Thoreau, the Poet-Naturalist* (1902), p. 56, mistakenly attributes it to Quarles's *Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man*.
- p. 125 "What I have learned," Diogenes Laertius on Crates, VI, 86 (Loeb Classical Library ed., II, 89).
- p. 127 "... ask for that which," Ellery Channing (see *Collected Poems of Henry Thoreau* [1943], ed. Carl Bode, p. 374).
- p. 127 "Let us set so just," William Habington, "To my honoured friend and kinsman, R. St. Esquire," lines 41-44 (in Chalmers, VI, 456b).
- p. 128 "Olympian bards who sung," Emerson, "Ode to Beauty," lines 60 f.
- p. 129 "... lips of cunning fell," Emerson, "The Problem," lines 12-13.
- p. 130 "That 'tis not in the power," Samuel Daniel, Dedication of the *Tragedy of Philotas*, "To the Prince," lines 74-76 (in Chalmers, III, 579b).
- p. 130 "And that the utmost powers," *ibid.*, lines 81-82.
- p. 130 "And who in time knows whither," Daniel, *Musophilus*, stanza 153 (in Chalmers, III, 541a).
- p. 131 "How many thousands never heard," *ibid.*, stanza 70 (in Chalmers, III, 537a).
- p. 143 "Make bandog thy scout," Th. Tusser, "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry," X, stanza 19.
- p. 151 "I thynke for to touche also," John Gower, Prologue to *Confessio Amantis*, lines 58-60.
- p. 151 "The hye sheryfe of Notynghame," "Gest of Robin Hood," lines 59-60.
- p. 151 "His shoote it was," "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne," stanza 17.
- p. 151 "Gazed on the heavens," William Browne, "The Shepherd's Pipe," Eclogue IV, line 170 (in Chalmers, VI, 320a). Thoreau's ascription of it to "Britannia's Pastorals" is incorrect.
- p. 151 "All courageous knichtis," Alexander Montgomerie, "The night is near gone," lines 33-43.

- p. 154 "He and his valiant soldiers," "Ballad of Lovewell's Fight," lines 3-4.
- p. 154 "Of all our valiant English," *ibid.*, stanzas 15, 16.
- p. 155 "And braving many dangers," *ibid.*, stanza 18, last two lines.
- p. 155 "A man he was of comely form," *ibid.*, stanzas 21-24.
- p. 157 "For as we are informed," *ibid.*, stanza 13.
- p. 160 "Yet I doubt not," Tennyson, "Locksley Hall," lines 137-138.
- p. 165 "Men find that action," Samuel Daniel, *Musophilus*, lines 486-489 (in Chalmers, III, 537a). Channing, *Thoreau, the Poet-Naturalist* (1902), p. 52, quotes this stanza as "a better expression of Thoreau's opinion on men and things, as collected and approved by himself, than I could find elsewhere."
- p. 167 "And round about good morrows fly," Charles Cotton, "The Morning Quatrain," lines 35-36.
- p. 168 "The early pilgrim blithe," "The Lordling Peasant," in Thomas Evans, *Old English Ballads*, IV, 136, lines 57-60. (I am indebted to Miss Anne Whaling for locating this quotation and those on pages 351 and 357.)
- p. 170 "Now turn again," "The Jolly Pindar of Wakefield," stanza 4.
- p. 170 "Virtues as rivers pass," Donne, "Obsequies on the Lord Harrington, Brother to the Countess of Bedford," lines 51-52.
- p. 204 "Through the shadow of the globe," Tennyson, "Locksley Hall," lines 183-184. Thoreau added a line of commentary.
- p. 205 "Fragments of the lofty strain," Walter Scott, "Thomas the Rhymer," Part 3, stanza 9. Wrongly ascribed to Gray by the editors.
- p. 217 "They carried these foresters," "Robin Hood's Progress to Nottingham," last stanza.
- p. 218 "Gentle river, gentle river," "*Rio verde, rio verde*," stanzas 1-2, in Percy's *Reliques*.
- p. 219 "Then did the crimson streams," "Ballad of Lovewell's Fight," stanza 2 of the second version.
- p. 225 "When the drum beat," Thomas Campbell, "Hohenlinden," line 6.
- p. 231 "Before each van," Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 535-538.
- p. 233 "On either side the river lie," Tennyson, "The Lady of Shalott," opening lines.
- p. 246 "Heaven itself shall slide," Giles Fletcher, "Christ's Victory in Heaven," stanza 38 (in Chalmers, VI, 64a).
- p. 247 "Flatter the mountain-tops," Shakespeare, Sonnet 33, lines 2, 4.
- p. 247 "Anon permit the basest," *ibid.*, lines 5-6.

- p. 248 "How may a worm," Giles Fletcher, "Christ's Victory and Triumph," I, v, stanza 43.
- p. 251 "And now the taller sons," *ibid.*, IV, stanza 3.
- p. 266 "In a pleasant glade," Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III, Canto V, xxxix, 2-9.
- p. 272 "Amongst the pumy stones," *ibid.*, last two lines.
- p. 272 "His reverend locks," "Beggar's Daughter of Bednall-Green," in Percy's *Reliques*.
- p. 285 "Of Syrian peace, immortal leisure," Emerson, "The Humble Bee," line 38.
- p. 293 "Too quick resolves do resolution wrong," Quarles, *Emblems*, XIII, 2, lines 45-49.
- p. 295 "Nor has he ceased," Simonides, *Epigram on Anacreon*, Palatine Anthology, 7, 25, 9-10.
- p. 297 "The young and tender stalk," "The Faery Queen," lines 45-46 in Percy's *Reliques*. Not by Spenser.
- pp. 298-302 Thoreau's translations from Anacreontics: On His Lyre (No. 23); To a Swallow (No. 25); On a Silver Cup (No. 4); On Himself (No. 26); To a Dove (No. 15); On Love (No. 31); On Women (No. 24); On Lovers (No. 27); To a Swallow (No. 10); To a Colt (No. 75 in Anacreon); Cupid Wounded (No. 35). The numbers are from the Loeb ed. and were identified by Dr. James F. Cronin, my colleague.
- p. 309 "Man is man's foe and destiny," Charles Cotton, "The World," line 20 (in Chalmers, VI, 738b).
- p. 321 "He knew of our haste," Pindar, Pythian Ode, IV, lines 34-43.
- p. 321 "... springing up from the bottom," Pindar, Olymp., VII, lines 62-63.
- p. 321 "The island sprang from the watery," Pindar, Olymp., VII, lines 69-71.
- p. 328 "Rome living was the world's," Spenser's translation of Du Bellay's "Ruines of Rome," stanza 29, lines 13-14; the last two lines are from "Ruines of Time," lines 76-77.
- p. 330 "... bees that fly," Giles Fletcher, "Christ's Triumph over Death," Pt. iii, stanza 2, lines 6, 7 (in Chalmers, VI, 71b).
- p. 351 "He that hath love," Matthew Royden, "An Elegie, or Friends Passion, for his Astrophill," lines 143-144 (in Spenser's *Works*).
- p. 352 "Why love among the virtues," Donne, "Second Letter to the Countess of Huntington," lines 129-130 (in Chalmers, V, 172b).
- p. 357 "And love as well," Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, "Another to his Cinthia," No. 121, lines 19-20 (in *England's Helicon*, ed. Hyder

- Rollins, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, I, 160). Thoreau used Sir Edgerton Brydges's edition of 1812.
- p. 362 "When manhood shall," Richard Edwards, "The Renuing of Love," Evans, *Old English Ballads*, III, 361, lines 37-40.
- p. 365 "There be mo sterres," Chaucer, "The Parlement of Foules," line 595. The following two lines are from "The Romaunt of the Rose," lines 5533-5534.
- p. 390 "Silver sands and pebbles sing," W. Raleigh to C. Marlowe, "Another Passionate Shepherd to his Love," stanza 3 (*The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Oldys and Birch, London, 1829, VIII, 710). Thoreau omits initial "Where."
- p. 391 "Who dreamt devoutlier," Donne, "Of the Progress of the Soul, The Second Anniversary," line 464.
- p. 392 "And, more to lulle him," Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, Canto I, xli.
- p. 393 "He trode the unplanted forest floor," Emerson, "Woodnotes," I, 64-68, 82-84, 92-96.
- pp. 409-411 Lines from Persius: "*Ipse semipaganus*," Prologue, lines 6-7; "*Haud cuivis*," Satire II, 617; "*Est aliquid*," Satire III, 60-62; "*Securus quo pes ferat*," repeats line 62, substituting *vivit* for *vivis*; "*Stat contra ratio*," Satire V, 96-97.
- p. 414 "Sweet day, so cool," George Herbert, "The Temple," first stanza of "Virtue." "Day" should be plural.
- p. 417 "To journey for his marriage," Chaucer, "Dream" (in Chalmers, I, 88b); now no longer attributed to Chaucer.
- p. 418 "... The swaying soft," W. E. Channing, "The River," lines 14-17. Cf. entry under p. 56 above. The *Dial* version varies slightly.
- p. 421 "Not only o'er the dial's face," James Montgomery, "The Sundial," lines 10-17 (in Emerson's *Parnassus*, p. 151).
- p. 429 "... old woman that lives under the hill," Mother Goose ballad.
- p. 432 "The laws of Nature break the rules of Art," Quarles, "To My Booke," *Divine Fancies*, Lib. IV, p. 206, piece 117, line 36.
- p. 441 "The Boteman strayt," Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II, Canto XII, xxix.
- p. 441 "Summer's robe grows," Donne, "The Anatomy of the World," lines 355-356.
- p. 443 "And now the cold autumnal dews," Quarles, *Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man*, XIV, iii, 196-200.
- p. 444 "From steep pine-bearing mountains," Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, I, 116.

- p. 445 "Wise Nature's darlings," William Drummond, "A Pastoral Elegy on the Death of Sir William Alexander," lines 97-98 (in Chalmers, V, 686b). The editors mistakenly assign this to Marlowe.
- p. 445 "... at all, Came lovers home from this great festival," Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, I, 96.
- pp. 445-459 Lines from Ossian. For location of these passages, see my article, "Thoreau and Ossian," *New England Quarterly*, XVIII, 96-98 (March, 1945).
- p. 465 "And what's a life?" Quarles, "The Brevity of Human Life," *Emblems*, III, 13, lines 19-21. I have gathered all the quotations from Quarles in "Francis Quarles and Henry D. Thoreau," *Modern Language Notes*, LX, 335-336 (May, 1945).
- p. 467 "I see the golden-rod shine bright," W. E. Channing, "Autumn," stanzas 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 13. *Dial*, IV, 186-187 (October, 1843).
- p. 490 "For first the thing is thought," Chaucer, *The Court of Love*, stanza 187.
- p. 493 "If that God that heaven," Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, lines 1039-1041.
- p. 498 "There is a place beyond," Giles Fletcher, "Christ's Victory in Heaven," stanza 6 (in Chalmers, VI, 62a). The editors mistakenly attribute this to Sir William Davenant.
- p. 500 "The earth, the air," George Chapman, *Caesar and Pompey*, V, 159-161.
- p. 501 "Although we celestial bodies move," Donne, *Elegy 18*, lines 33-34 (in Chalmers, V, 150b).
- p. 501 "*Largior hic campos*," Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 640-641.
- p. 502 "Unless above himself," S. Daniel, "Epistle to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland," lines 95-96 (in Chalmers, III, 530a).
- p. 503 "I asked the schoolman," Quarles, *Emblems*, IV, 11, lines 32-33.
- p. 511 "He that wants faith," Quarles, "On Faith," *Divine Fancies*, Lib. III, 97, lines 1-4.
- p. 511 "By them went Fido," Phineas Fletcher, "The Purple Island," Canto IX, stanzas xix, xxi.
- p. 514 "Therefore, as doth the pilgrim," William Drummond, *Flowers in Sion*, IV, "No trust in Time," lines 9-14. The editors mistakenly ascribe this quotation to Giles Fletcher.
- p. 515 "*Pulsae referunt*," Virgil, *Eclogues*, VI:84.

The range of these quotations makes it obvious that Thoreau read strenuously while at Harvard College and in the years immediately thereafter. He read widely, and repeatedly, though perhaps not

extensively, in seventeenth-century favorites like Quarles, Daniel, Donne, Giles Fletcher, and George Herbert, as well as in the classics, and in Chaucer and the Elizabethans. He is known to have read and perhaps reread Chalmers's *Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper* (London, 1810), but half the references here given are not contained in that twenty-one-volume set. Thoreau's quotations are not indispensable to the point he is making; he seems to have used them rather as ballast for ideas already his own.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

An Introduction to an Edition of Joel Barlow's *Advice to the Privileged Orders*. Leah Spilberg (Chicago).

Thoreau and the Classics. Ethel Seybold (Yale).

II. DISSERTATION ON A TOPIC OF A GENERAL NATURE:

The Fugitive Group and the Agrarian Movement in Southern Literature. John L. Stewart (Ohio State University).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

American Attitudes toward the Rise of Napoleon III. Rev. Henry W. Casper (Catholic University, History, 1945).

The Doctrine of Atonement in Jonathan Edwards and His Successors. Dorus Paul Rudisill (Duke, Religion, 1945).

The Educational Content of Some Leading Literary Periodicals, 1850-1900. John C. Hepler (Peabody, 1944).

Gogol's First Century in England and America (1841-1941). Carl Anthony LeFevre (Minnesota, 1944).

The Growth of Emerson's Thought. Mary Christine Turpie (Minnesota, 1944).

The Immigrant in American Fiction. Elwood Lawrence (Western Reserve, 1944).

The Life and Influence of John Philip Sousa. Charles Fremont Church, Jr. (Ohio State University, Music, 1944).

Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*: Its Origin, Composition, and Popularity. Leon T. Dickinson (Chicago, 1945).

Philip Freneau, Jeffersonian Publicist. Philip M. Marsh (Harvard, 1946).

A Rhetorical Comparison of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Based upon Aristotelian Criteria. George Edward Brooks (Ohio State University, Speech, 1945).

A Study of the Essays of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Hjalmar Orlando Lokensgard (Minnesota, 1944).

Thomas Sergeant Perry. Agnes Virginia Harlow (Duke, 1946).

Travel Literature of the Ohio River Valley (1794-1832). William Henry Hildreth (Ohio State University, 1944).

Whittier's Prose on Reforms other than Abolition. J. Welfred Holmes (Pittsburgh, 1945).

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Prof. Richmond C. Beatty (Vanderbilt) is at work on a book tentatively titled *The Southern Literary Renaissance, 1918-1946*. He would welcome suggestions.

Dr. Rhoda C. Ellison (Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama) has two books scheduled for publication by the University of Alabama Press in 1946. The first is a history of printing in Alabama before 1870, to be published as *Early Alabama Publications: A Study in Literary Interests*. The second is *A Check List of Alabama Imprints, 1807-1870, Including Newspapers and Periodicals*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

SON OF THE WILDERNESS: *The Life of John Muir*. By Linnie Marsh Wolfe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. xviii, 364 pp. \$3.50.

Most of John Muir's books were autobiographical, he has been the subject of one previous biography, and he figures in several volumes of reminiscences, but Mrs. Wolfe has found enough new material to justify another life of the man. Future students of Muir will probably object to her sentimental acceptance of Muir on his own terms, and they may find it necessary to analyze his writings more closely, but they are not likely to turn up many new facts about him.

A thorough examination of Muir's unpublished notes and journals (some of which Mrs. Wolfe edited as *John of the Mountains*), a long association with Muir's daughter, a residence in Muir's home, and a nationwide tour in Muir's footsteps have yielded all sorts of information, and Mrs. Wolfe has seemingly been tireless in tracking down the last pertinent scrap of material about her hero's life.

Beginning with Muir's dour Scotch background, the biography proceeds through his formal and informal education in the wilds of Wisconsin, his conflict between a native mechanical bent and a compulsion toward a life more open to nature, his wanderings across the country to Canada and his thousand-mile hike to the Gulf, and, finally, his removal to California in 1868, where he developed his full powers as naturalist, geologist, conservationist, thinker, and writer. Two thirds of the book deals with this life in California after Muir's thirtieth year, concerned particularly with his mountaineering in Yosemite, his contributions to glacial geology and the scholarly disputes in which they involved him, his crusade for forest conservation and the cantankerous conflicts in which it implicated him, his scientific explorations in Alaska, and his last great battle over the Hetch Hetchy water system.

Mainly through quotations, partly through analysis, Mrs. Wolfe shows Muir to have been a pantheist, and a mystic besides. He found that "Religion is on all the rocks," and "the pines are plainly full of God," from which he postulated "an essential Love, overlying, underlying, pervading all things." In nature he found that "everything is hitched to everything else," and that only man is alien and predatory. This is the theory which pervades his descriptive writings and which gives them their rhapsodic character, but Mrs. Wolfe considers Muir's books only sketchily, being more interested in their relation to the events with which they deal than in the philosophic ideas on which they are based.

The biography is a meticulous account of the facts of Muir's life, but it does not fully bring to light their essential motivating forces nor does it resolve the seeming contradiction between Muir's romanticism and his scientific practice. Mrs. Wolfe seems to admire her subject so much that he turns out to be always right, his relations with family and friends always perfectly normal and requiring no analysis, his travels and occupations so interesting that his writings and theories can be treated as secondary, and his psyche so private that one would be indiscreet to disturb it. A man who was so much an individual, who aroused such bitter animosities, and who held such positive yet conflicting ideas might well have been subject to more critical analysis and less fulsome appreciation in a biography of this length.

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JAMES D. HART.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF NEW ENGLAND VERSE. By Harold S. Jantz. Worcester, Massachusetts: Reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1943. 1945. 292 pp. \$2.50.

Students are increasingly indebted to Dr. Jantz for his labors, presented in this and other monographs, in putting in order the odds and ends which have been allowed to accumulate in the American literary cellar. Like most tidy adventurers, he has come upon almost forgotten relics and, as a result, here presents for reappraisal materials which other historians and critics have for the most part neglected. His investigation among unpublished, uncollected, and unevaluated verse leads him to discover that many of the statements, literary judgments, and general conclusions of previous surveys "were almost worthless, since they left out of account so much of our finest verse (some of which flatly contradicts their material and critical statements) and gave undue emphasis to certain well-known poems which are strictly mediocre or worse" (pp. 4-5). He finds that, since Samuel Kettell expanded in his introduction to *Specimens of American Poetry* in 1829 the essay on Puritan verse which had appeared two years before in the *American Quarterly Review*, there has existed in all surveys of the period an "almost immutable canon of thirty-odd writers, impartially chosen from among the good, indifferent, and bad versifiers of the period, on which no one has tried to improve except by reduction or by occasional single addition" (p. 5). He does not exclude Professor Tyler's standard *History*, which "added not one new name of the slightest importance," or the *CHAL*. This candid indictment is reinforced by Dr. Jantz with a preliminary critical essay (pp. 3-112), "A Selection of Newly Discovered Verse" (pp. 113-174), and a bibliography of early New England verse (pp. 175-

192) which sets right many traditionally accepted misconceptions.

His indictment is perhaps the more serious because a large part of the materials presented by Dr. Jantz have been for some time available. Lecturers in the period have been able to spice their notes with excerpts from Hall's edition of Benjamin Thompson, Hazard's *John Saffin His Book*, Litchfield's reprints of Richard Steere, Murdock's *Handkerchiefs from Paul*, and Johnson's series of presentations of Edward Taylor. Articles on early poets and newly discovered examples of their work have been tucked away—"buried," suggests Dr. Jantz—in minor historical and professional journals. It has been demonstrated that Cotton Mather was not quite the poet which his equivocal use of other men's lines often suggested. Claims have been forwarded for a sharper focus on the unpretentious productions of Roger Williams and Edward Johnson. There has been noticed what may be termed an increasing secularization of verse during the latter part of the century, in the writings of Saffin, Steere, and Sewall. The existence of love lyrics, of philosophical poems, of blank verse, of an immediate influence of John Dryden, of echoes of the metaphysical poets, of the impact of the classics have all been known. None before Dr. Jantz, however, has extended the inquiry from hints thus liberally given to re-examine the period in the light of discoveries made during the past fifty years. Such a study has long been overdue, and we must wish him well as he continues the undertaking.

Dr. Jantz with this monograph advances to the forefront of those who warn that American literary scholarship must devote itself even more assiduously to the collection of facts before it can pontificate in analysis. Perhaps he, or another with his perseverance and ability, will extend the investigation into the even more dim regions of the first half of the eighteenth century, where Benjamin Colman and his talented daughter, young John Adams, Mather Byles, and all their fellows still wait the scholar who will mold them to life from materials which were not available for the early studies of Professor Tyler and Miss Cook.

Duke University.

LEWIS LEARY.

WALT WHITMAN: *The Trent Collection*. By Ellen Frances Frey. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Library. 1945. xiii, 148 pp.

When Walt Whitman died, fifty-four years ago, he had given to each of his future literary executors a great many manuscripts, books, letters, and other documents; by his will he left to them the remainder of his effects of this sort. In the early days of Whitman research it was impossible for the student to get access to all this material; when he did

have opportunity to study parts of it, it was often under conditions unfavorable to research. Even today, I believe, no published biography has been based upon a thorough study of all the original sources mentioned. Instead of being hopelessly scattered, however, they are at last being given a permanent home in various public institutions. Mr. Thomas B. Harned, after generously permitting me to study and to publish much of his material, presented the whole of it to the Library of Congress. There, too, is now to be found the rich collection of the late Carolyn Wells. Mrs. Frank Julian Sprague's interesting Whitmaniana, after being placed on exhibition in the Library of Congress, has become the property of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Henry S. Saunders, a few years ago, sold his collection, notable for its editions and its carefully indexed periodical literature, to Brown University for the Harris Collection of Poetry and Drama. The O'Connor material, once the property of Professor Bliss Perry, was left to Harvard; and more recently a Yale alumnus, Mr. Adrian Van Sinderen, donated his many editions and miscellaneous items to his alma mater. Much of Horace Traubel's part of the Whitman legacy appears in the published volumes of *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, but the collection itself has not yet found its way to a public repository. Through the courtesy of his family, I was permitted to examine, for a few days in 1917, the material on which Dr. Richard Bucke had based Whitman's first full-length biography; more detailed study has since been given to it by Professor Clifton Joseph Furness, who presented a few of his findings at the M. L. A. meeting in Chicago in 1937. Otherwise, if only because it was in Canada, the Bucke collection has been relatively inaccessible. But in 1935 it was sold in London to Dr. Jacob Schwartz, a dealer, who the next year offered it at auction in New York through the American Art Association—Anderson Galleries. Despite an excellent job of cataloguing by Mr. Emory F. Hanaburgh, the major part of this collection was so little in demand that it was bought in by the vendor. A minor portion was purchased by Mr. W. D. H. Howe, whose Whitman and Twain books and manuscripts were, at his death, added to the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. A large part of the remainder of the Schwartz items has been purchased by Dr. and Mrs. Josiah C. Trent and presented to the Library of Duke University, as a memorial to their four daughters. A carefully prepared catalogue has just been published by the Library, compiled by Miss Ellen Frances Frey, the Curator of Rare Books. From what has been said it is obvious that the future study of Whitman should be facilitated beyond the fondest dreams of the scholars who first turned soil in this rich field. The generosity and foresight of these and other donors will have its full fruition when, and if, a definitive, annotated, variorum edition of Whit-

man is undertaken, as it might well be through some form of co-operative effort. Such a project was being seriously considered when the outbreak of war put an end to undertakings of that sort.

The Trent Collection is impressive in bulk and varied in content, but it will be valued by scholars chiefly because of its ability to supplement other collections rather than to duplicate them. It contains over eighty-five editions of Whitman's own books, including foreign editions. It lacks some of the rarer items, such as the 1865 *Drum-Taps* and the Author's Edition of 1882, but these can be seen elsewhere. There are some hundred books and pamphlets relating to Whitman and almost as many periodicals containing articles about the poet. A large number of magazine articles and newspaper clippings indicating Whitman's range of interest were listed by Dr. Bucke in *Notes and Fragments*, but it would be extremely inconvenient, and in many cases impossible, to locate the articles themselves from this check list; the Trent Collection contains the material for a suggestive study in this section alone. There are also printer's proofs and offprints, a few Whitman poems set to music (not all of which appear in the Landauer bibliography), and some Whitman pictures, mostly photographs. But what cannot be found in other collections are the manuscripts of various kinds, some of them very early.

Of letters and postcards there are more than 160 in Whitman's autograph, 142 letters written by his mother, only a few of which have been published, and various other letters throwing sometimes a pitiless light upon minor members of the Whitman family. These all have biographical value; of more interest to the critic and student of *Leaves of Grass* are the drafts of published poems or sections of poems, a few unpublished poems of minor importance, autobiographical manuscripts, statements of Whitman's purposes and methods in creating a new type of poetry, and critical notes on his wide if not very systematic reading. It is true that Dr. Bucke published most of this manuscript material, first in *Notes and Fragments* and later in the Camden edition of Whitman's works. How accurately he deciphered Whitman's often confused pages I have had no opportunity to determine; but in any case scholars will welcome this opportunity to use the originals. Some of these have never been published, but we are informed that Professor Clarence Gohdes and Mr. Rollo G. Silver are now preparing them for publication by the Duke University Press. Were this not the case, the student of Whitman would have been a little disappointed not to find a fuller description of them in the present catalogue. In that respect the Schwartz Sale catalogue is more generous, despite the limitations a public auction naturally places upon the reproduction of manuscripts.

Particular mention should be made of a few unique items. It has

long been known that Dr. Bucke's "authorized" biography was more than that; it was read and revised, and parts were written, by Whitman. In the Trent Collection one may see the manuscript, with these emendations in Whitman's hand. Another interesting exhibit is the *Brooklyn Freeman*. When this weekly was started, in September, 1848, as a campaign sheet for the Free-Soilers, a great fire burned out the *Freeman* office on the night following its first issue. Though the paper was revived, as a daily, somewhat later and is said to have had a considerable circulation, only one copy, that of the first (weekly) issue, has ever come to light. It was a happy thought on the part of Miss Frey to reproduce this unique item photostatically and to pocket it in the back cover of her catalogue. A third object of interest is a large portion of the printer's copy for the 1881-1882 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, with Whitman's autograph corrections and additions.

Queens College.

EMORY HOLLOWAY.

THE QUEST OF AMERICAN LIFE. By George Norlin. Boulder, Colorado: *The University of Colorado Studies*. Series B: Studies in the Humanities, Vol. 2, No. 3. March, 1945. xvi, 280 pp.

This book is the product of Dr. Norlin's studies as Research Professor in the Humanities at the University of Colorado following his retirement from the presidency of that institution in 1939, after more than twenty years of service. He died in 1942. In an editorial preface R. G. Gustavson calls the book an epitome of its author.

"The quest of American life," writes Dr. Norlin, "has always been and is now for a larger freedom," and at its best, he thinks, freedom has been recognized as something more than a "flight from restraint." The true democracy "must ever strive for a proper balance—a golden mean—between a restraining guardianship on the one hand and freedom of enterprise on the other, assigning, however, to each of its citizens the largest degree of freedom that they may possess and exercise without trespassing upon the common good." Thus far in their quest, he continues, the American people have had little regard for the common welfare; they must have a change of heart if they are to succeed. American democracy rests upon a philosophy which in this essay he calls "humanism" and which he defines as "an attitude of mind and heart which holds to the preciousness of human life, which has faith in the potential dignity and worth of our human being apart from the trappings of wealth or station, and which strives to create a social soil and climate wherein every human personality may take root and flower and be fruitful, each in accordance with the nature and capacity of each." The purpose of

his book is "to trace out the brighter threads" of this humanism in the fabric of America which relieve its drabness and give promise of a better future. Since the word "humanism" has a long and varied history and has already several meanings, it will be necessary for the reader to keep the author's definition clearly and constantly in mind as he proceeds.

Among the brighter threads of humanism in American history, Dr. Norlin includes the liberal side of Puritanism, the teaching and practice of brotherhood among the Quakers, the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the individualism fostered by frontier life, the "apotheosis of the common man" in the Jacksonian era, and the moral idealism of the antislavery crusade. The book is less a history, however, than a series of closely connected essays on such great exemplars of humanism as Roger Williams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. Dr. Norlin calls Franklin a product of the America that was and a prophet of the America that was to be, and he sees in Jacksonian democracy a development related to the intellectual awakening in the East that produced Channing, Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, and Whitman. Upon the faith that is affirmed by Emerson and Whitman, he declares, democracy must stand or fall. "Emerson and Whitman are not mere incidents in our history. They have kept the faith handed down by others before them and strengthened it for those who followed; and as such they were the finest fruits and, perhaps, the most spiritual forces which came out of that buoyant irrepressible time in our history which we term the Jacksonian era."

But already the dark cloud of civil strife was forming, and when the storm was over, "the South was left to lick its wounds as best it could amid its ruins, while the country at large, comparatively unscarred by the war, entered upon an orgy of materialism which, to the humanist, stands out as one of the depressing wonders of the world." The book ends with a chapter on the struggle between the emergent West and the commercially powerful East in which Theodore Roosevelt, "a towering figure in the history of humanism," is the hero. In its philosophy his Square Deal, thinks Dr. Norlin, was essentially the same as Jefferson's Equality of Opportunity, Lincoln's Fair Deal, Wilson's New Freedom, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Unfortunately the study is concluded upon a somewhat muted note, leaving the reader with a less robust optimism than the earlier history of humanism might entitle him to feel. Since there is no full discussion of the eras of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, perhaps the book was left incomplete by the death of the author.

Dr. Norlin appears to have been strongly influenced by the historical writings of Frederick J. Turner and James Truslow Adams. Though he has not produced a work of great originality, he gives us an excellent statement of the grounds on which a contemporary American may confidently base his faith in the eventual establishment of democracy as a way of life. In spite of the weakness referred to in the conclusion, it is a heartening book.

North Texas State College.

FLOYD STOVALL.

NAMES ON THE LAND: *A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States.* By George R. Stewart. New York: Random House. 1945. ix, 418 pp. \$3.00.

Names on the Land is an important contribution to the study of American culture. About 2,200 names are discussed as they illustrate the process of place-naming. The author's standard of selection is fourfold: names of national interest, such as state names; names that are examples of habits or fashions of name-giving such as *Troy* and *Texarkana*; names that show the methods of notable name-givers like Captains John Smith and George Vancouver; and names of unusual origins, such as *Berkeley* and *Lemon Fair*. There are names of capes and rivers, towns and mountains, streets and counties, lakes and states, plantations and deserts.

The author insists that his book is not a place-name dictionary. Until there is an adequate dictionary of greater scope, however, it is safe to say that this book with its satisfactory index will be used as a dictionary. And the disappointment of occasionally not finding what one seeks will be assuaged by the illuminating charm of this remarkable key to our history, our language, our society.

As with other original books, the question comes to mind, Why wasn't it done before? What does George Stewart have that x, y, z, or I lack? The most impressive accomplishment here is the successful ordering and presentation of thousands of linguistic details so that they give a short history of America from a new point of view. The facts were fairly well known or at least to be ascertained with diligence. The author's scholarly care is commendable, but his extraordinary gift is the literary skill with which he has martialed his data and told his eloquent story. One could not forecast this book from the author's novels—although from *Names on the Land* a stranger could conclude that this man has the power to write novels and good ones. Here is an example of the fortunate combination of professional skill as a scholar and as a writer. May George Stewart's example inspire and direct the neophytes!

But let the beginners be more generous with notes and a detailed

bibliography. In the Author's Postscript Stewart says: "Somewhat reluctantly I have refrained from including a full bibliography and citations." Because of this book's primacy in the field and because of the uncertainty of some of the evidence, a detailed view of the sources and the problems would be welcome and helpful. Unless the multitude of citations is unmanageable and the evidence indigestible, a society of place names might begin by printing Mr. Stewart's bibliography and notes. One of H. L. Mencken's contributions in comparable studies is full documentation without loss of literary effectiveness. But in the light of our debt to *Names on the Land* this objection is caviling or greediness.

Every reader will have comments and additions to make. Didn't *del Norte* survive occasionally in Mexican usage as *Rio Bravo del Norte* or *Rio Grande del Norte* (p. 24)? The city of Laconia, N. H., might be worth mention in the account of the naming of New Hampshire (p. 24). Is *slavianka* a diminutive (p. 225)? Wasn't *-burg* Dutch-looking rather than Dutch-sounding (p. 194)? Comments on pronunciation might assist the discussion of *-burgh*, *-borough*, *-berg*, and *-bergh*. It is interesting that two state names are greetings: *Idaho*, roughly equivalent to "Good morning!" and *Texas*, from *Techas*, "Friends!" I wonder whether Spanish or Indian variants account for the "x" of Texas, which would stand, I suppose, for an "sh" sound.

Everybody who doesn't already know will be delighted by the information that *marble* meant "granite" in Marblehead; that *cape* in Cape Neddick and others is derived from an Indian word meaning "closed-passage"; that the Hudson is the *North River* in distinction from the Delaware, the *South River*; that nobody ever pronounced the medial "c" in *Connecticut*; that *Tenafly* was the Dutch *thyne-vly*, "garden valley"; that *DeGeoijen* (Dutch) as the name of a town on the Kansas City Southern was simplified to *De Queen*; that *Chicago* may mean "skunk-place"; that *Mississippi* does not mean "father of waters."

As fascinating as the details are the fine accounts of periods and trends: the Royal names of Colonial times, the names of heroes of the Revolution, abstract names and the Civil War (as compared with the Post Office List of 1855, that of 1862 showed an increase of 21 *Union's* or compounds of *Union* such as *Uniontown*, 7 *Liberty's*, and only one *Freedom*), Indian names, French names, Spanish names, name-giving by Congress (the Mormons want *Deseret*, not *Utah*), name-giving by explorers and pioneers, by land-speculators, by railroaders, by rich men, poor men, beggar men, all acting according to the spirit of their times in this wonderful land of accelerated history. We now stand at *Atomic Corners*.

Barnard College
Columbia University.

CABELL GREET.

THE THEATRE BOOK OF THE YEAR 1944-1945: *A Record and an Interpretation*. By George Jean Nathan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. xviii, 342, v pp. \$3.00.

As he remarks in the foreword to this, his third annual survey of the New York theater, Mr. Nathan is reporting another season of "continued poverty in drama of authentic quality," and the book fully bears out the description. Murder mysteries, melodramas, musical shows, farces, and flimsy comedies make up the great preponderance of the season's one hundred and more productions. Of a certainty there has not been much on Broadway of late to stir one by its beauty, its searching truth, or its cleansing wit. But Mr. Nathan seems to have enjoyed himself more at the playhouse in 1944-1945 than he did the previous year, for he says that "while the theatre offered the serious drama critic very little over which to exercise his talents, it nevertheless periodically afforded him a good time," and "a good, loud, healthy, ceiling-rattling laugh never hurt anyone, even a critic."

Yet Mr. Nathan registers many deep dissatisfactions with the current theater and in so doing reveals himself as one of the most highly civilized playgoers of our time. He objects, among other things, to plays written by people who have no other incentive than an itch to write a play; he objects to plays built about obstreperous adolescents; he objects to the appearance in the legitimate field of screen stars, with their surface technique; he objects to the welter of dirt and vulgarity which litters our stage and equally to an irresponsible censorship that denies a hearing to sincere dramas on disagreeable themes. In a word, he yearns for plays written and acted by healthy-minded adults for healthy-minded adults.

Nevertheless, he does not wholly despair. As he ranges through his impressively rich knowledge of New York theatrical history, Mr. Nathan sees that the commercial stage has many splendid accomplishments to its credit and that our day is not devoid of all promise. His comment on Eddie Dowling, one of the producers and actors of *The Glass Menagerie*, is among the most heartening things in the book: "I sometimes hear it said that I am prejudiced in Dowling's favor. What I hear said, believe me, is damned true. I am prejudiced in Dowling's favor as I would be in the case of any man who, like him, places the pride of the theatre above a potential fat purse, who is not afraid of risky but meritorious plays, and who is willing for weeks and even months to subsist on doughnuts and tea if it will allow him eventually to realize some little dream he may have."

A few more producers and critics of the integrity of Mr. Dowling and Mr. Nathan would go a long way to make Broadway a better place than of late years it has been.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

THE AESTHETIC PROCESS. Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, No. 8. By Bertram Morris. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1943. xiii, 189 pp. \$2.25.

Under the influence of such time-philosophers as Bergson, Dewey, and Whitehead, Mr. Morris has been deeply moved by the need "'of taking time seriously' and of seeing the implications of time for understanding art." He conceives of art as "the process through which one comes to be aware of beauty and its nature," and, accordingly, in the seven closely thought-out and neatly articulated chapters of this book, he has utilized the concept of process to throw light on such major aesthetic problems as the aesthetic attitude, the aesthetic object, the meaning of expression, the kinds of beauty, aesthetic judgment, and art criticism. The result is both illuminating and impressive.

His discussion of the aesthetic attitude involves him in the consideration of the three time-honored principles of immanence, disinterestedness, and unity. Immanence, he believes, "demands a radical interpretation. It must denote not merely the felt immediacy of sensuous impression, but also the referential process involved in actually living through an experience," for "in appreciation all arts are temporal." The aesthetic attitude may be defined as "that attitude which directs attention to an object as the fulfilment of experience." Since, however, feeling is initially not quality but the generation of structure, urgency demanding fulfilment, the art-object may be regarded as a construct produced in time and appreciated in time, the function of which is expression, the end of which is "the satisfied imagination."

Beauty, in Mr. Morris's terms, "is the expression of a purpose in a sensuous medium." In the emergence of beauty, cognition, volition, and affection share; and no one of these aspects of consciousness can, with impunity, be severed from the other. "Art is a process of resolving a problematical situation. Its resolution yields an order and coherence in which nothing is inapposite and everything is contributory to expression." The purpose of art, however, is not moral or religious or sectarian. Such a purpose may be a part of the subject matter of art; it cannot be its end. If it becomes its end, the artist becomes a "moralist who intrudes himself upon his art."

For the teacher of literature, the chapters in Mr. Morris's book that are likely to prove most rewarding are those on the judgment and criticism of art. Judgment demands consideration because it is through it that the process of art is "dynamically mediated." The dialectic of art, however, is "not a method of deductively proving a conclusion, but rather a method of predication upon the basis of insights had after the process

is resolved." Judgments of works of art, therefore, are not logical but metaphorical. (To this reader, this idea is the most novel and consequential in Mr. Morris's analysis.) "The virtue of the metaphorical judgment consists in its expressiveness. It is not so much true or false as it is enlightening or unenlightening." In the field of criticism, the writer distinguishes three types: the genetic or historical, aesthetic or appreciative, higher or evaluative; but from no one of these—least of all the aesthetic—is the processual element absent.

A critic who is not a professional aesthetician may very well hesitate before attempting to point out any inadequacies in this system of processual aesthetics. But one may venture to say that a close reading of the text leaves one with the feeling that, though the conclusions arrived at are both sound and valuable, there are certain problems that the writer has insufficiently explored. Too little attention is given to the nature of the imagination and to the infinitely diverse qualities of imagination that may be "satisfied" by works of art. Such an investigation would throw light on the reasons why some readers prefer Edna St. Vincent Millay to T. S. Eliot, Rembrandt to Dali, or magazine-cover "art" to Orozco. Another deficiency would seem to be Mr. Morris's neglect of the problem of evil in art. He skirts it in his "postscript on the ugly," but he never really confronts it.

One feels no hesitancy, however, in regretting that Mr. Morris and his fellow-aestheticians write in a professional jargon that makes the reading of their works difficult, painful, or impossible. Teachers of literature are notoriously ignorant of the system of aesthetics that they assume and maintain, without critical scrutiny, in the judgments they make daily in lectures and classroom discussion. Such a book as Mr. Morris's deserves a very wide reading, not merely among philosophers but particularly among teachers and critics of literature. It restricts its audience distressingly by insisting on conveying its meaning in such ugly and graceless sentences as "Unity refers to the determinate being which a thing is, and the unifying refers to the growing harmony apprehended in temporal appreciation," or "The expressive is the process by which the thing is expressed, and the expressed is only the product which issues from the expressive process." One also wishes that Mr. Morris's colleagues in the English Department to whom he expresses his indebtedness had explained to him the proper use of *that* and *which* and that he had allowed them to read his proof for him.

Wesleyan University.

FRED B. MILLETT.

BRIEF MENTION

THE UNITED STATES 1865-1900: *A Survey of Current Literature with Abstracts of Unpublished Dissertations*. Edited by Curtis Wiswell Garrison. Fremont, Ohio: The Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation. 1945. vii, 304 pp.

The third volume of this excellent bibliography continues to be an improvement upon its predecessors. The 1944 harvest of work on literature 1865-1900 is described in pages 125 to 156.

C. G.

A CONCISE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR STUDENTS OF ENGLISH SYSTEMATICALLY ARRANGED. By Arthur G. Kennedy. Second Edition. Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1945. vii, 161 pp. \$1.50.

This rival of the manuals of Tom P. Cross and John W. Spargo devotes one page to American English and three pages to American Literature.

C. G.

THE SELECTED WORKS OF TOM PAINE. Edited by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. [1945.] xii, 338 pp. \$3.50.

Includes *Common Sense*, the "most pertinent parts" of the *Crisis*, *Rights of Man*, *The Age of Reason*, and Paine's letters of February 22 and September 20, 1795, to George Washington, with an introduction, running comment, and an estimate by the editor. No index.

LEWIS LEARY.

AMERICAN DIARIES. AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN DIARIES WRITTEN PRIOR TO THE YEAR 1861. Compiled by William Matthews, with the assistance of Roy Harvey Pearce. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1945. xiv, 383 pp.

"This list is restricted to diaries and journals that have been published completely or in substantial part . . . arranged chronologically, by years, according to the date of the first entries as published" (pp. x, xi). Each item is described; the volume is indexed according to author.

LEWIS LEARY.

A LETTER BY DR. BENJAMIN RUSH DESCRIBING THE CONSECRATION OF THE GERMAN COLLEGE AT LANCASTER IN JUNE, 1787. Printed, with an Introduction and Notes, from a newly discovered manuscript, now in the Fackenthal Library at Franklin and Marshall College. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Published by Order of the College. 1945. viii, 36 pp. \$2.50.

Dr. Rush's letter of June 19, 1787, to his literary mother-in-law, Annis Boudinot (Mrs. Richard) Stockton is well edited by L. H. Butterfield.

LEWIS LEARY.

THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD NORWOOD SURVEYOR OF BERMUDA. With Introductions by Wesley Frank Craven and Walter H. Hayward. New York: Published for the Bermuda Historical Monuments Trust by Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints. 1945. xcii, 163 pp. \$3.50.

Contains also a "Bibliography of Norwood's Writings" (pp. lix-lxiv), prepared by William A. Jackson, a reprint of Norwood's "Description of the Sommer Ilands," with alterations, omissions, and additions of the compressed version of 1826 indicated in footnotes, and an "Inventory of Norwood's Estate" (pp. 133-143). Professor Craven and Mr. Hayward have produced a completely useful and commendable volume.

LEWIS LEARY.

PREACHING IN THE FIRST HALF CENTURY OF NEW ENGLAND HISTORY. By Babette May Levy. Hartford, Connecticut: American Society of Church History. 1945. vii, 207 pp. \$3.00.

Miss Levy's monograph, a prize essay of the Frank S. Brewer Fund, presents welcome documentation of the pattern of Puritan preaching in early America. Especially valuable are the chapters on "Sermonic Similitudes" and "The Plain Style and Its Variations."

LEWIS LEARY.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), John Jaques (Columbia University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College).

Items for the check list to be published in the May, 1946, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the Chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Marsh, Philip. "Philip Freneau's Manuscript of 'The Spy.'" *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, IX, 23-27 (Dec., 1945).

In Fred Lewis Pattee's published version of Freneau's *The Spy*, "most of the changes are agreeable. But there are many mistakes, . . . some of which change the meaning."

[RUSH, BENJAMIN] Butterfield, L. H. "A Survey of the Benjamin Rush Papers." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXX, 78-111 (Jan., 1946).

The survey is followed by a number of letters by, to, or about Rush.

[SEWALL, SAMUEL] Winship, George P. "Samuel Sewall and the New England Company." *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII, 55-110 (1945).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Masterson, James R. "Traveller's Tales of Colonial Natural History." *Jour. of Am. Folklore*, LIX, 51-67 (Jan.-March, 1946).

Proof that tall tales were current in America before the Revolution is found in books of travel.

II. 1800-1870

[COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE] Bonner, William Hallam. "Cooper and Captain Kidd." *MLN*, LXI, 21-27 (Feb., 1946).

Cooper's use of Captain Kidd lore is more subtle than Irving's, if less imaginative than Poe's and Stevenson's, and clearly indicates that he was not only familiar with the Kidd legend but respected it as a legend when he drew on it for his novels.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Dillaway, Newton. "Emerson's Remarkable Face." *Chri. Sci. Mon.*, XXXVIII, 8 (Jan. 3, 1946).

A reprint from *Prophet of America: Emerson and the Problems of Today* (1936).

Williams, Mentor L. "'Why Nature Loves the Number Five.' Emerson Toys with the Occult." *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, XXX, 639-649 (1944).

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Davidson, Frank. "Hawthorne's Hive of Honey." *MLN*, LXI, 14-21 (Feb., 1946).

"The purpose of this study is to suggest a few specific influences of Shakespeare and Milton on Nathaniel Hawthorne. They may be traced in 'Earth's Holocaust,' 'The New Adam and Eve,' and 'Rappaccini's Daughter.'"

Merrill, L. J. "The Puritan Policeman." *Am. Soc. Rev.*, X, 766-776 (Dec., 1945).

Of special interest to students of Hawthorne and Longfellow are the notes on Quaker persecution, the witchcraft delusion (especially the case of "poor old Giles Corey"), and *The Scarlet Letter*.

Stewart, Randall. "Mrs. Hawthorne's Financial Difficulties. Selections from Her Letters to James T. Fields, 1865-1868." *More Books*, XXI, 43-53 (Feb., 1946).

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Kirk, Clara and Rudolf. "Seven Letters of Washington Irving." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, IX, 1-22 (Dec., 1945).

Letters written during Irving's first trip abroad, 1804-1805, to his brothers and to Abraham Hicks. To be continued.

Lloyd, Francis V., Jr. "Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*." *Expl.*, IV, 26 (Feb., 1946).

The theme is a protest against the small-town mind, "satire of a way of life that Dreiser, Lewis, and Wolfe tried later to expose in one form or another."

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] MacKay, Winnifred K. "Philadelphia during the Civil War, 1861-1865." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXX, 3-51 (Jan., 1946).

Historical sketch which closes with the honors paid to the dead Lincoln.

Roberts, Octavia. "A. Lincoln Gives a Ball." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXXVIII, 8 (Feb. 12, 1946).

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[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] See Merrill under HAWTHORNE, above.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] ANON. "Melville's Journey: The Conflict of Heart and Mind." *Times Lit. Supp.*, Jan. 12, 1946, p. 18.

Melville "held fast to 'doubts of all things earthly' with 'intuitions of some things heavenly.'"

Collins, Carvel. "Melville's *Moby Dick*." *Expl.*, IV, 27 (Feb., 1946).

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[POE, E. A.] Basler, Roy P. "Poe's *The City in the Sea*." *Expl.*, IV, 30 (Feb., 1946).

"... the poem is a symbolic avowal (come hell or high water!) of Poe's poetic creed."

Bledsoe, T. F. "On Poe's 'Valley of Unrest.'" *MLN*, LXI, 91-92 (Feb., 1946).

On the origin of the word *Nis* as Poe uses it in the earliest version of the poem.

[STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER] Burns, Wayne, and Sutcliffe, Emerson Grant. "Uncle Tom and Charles Reade." *AL*, XVIII, 334-347 (Jan., 1946).

"Uncle Tom served as an inspiration and guide to Reade in his first attempt to write fiction of unmixed social purpose."

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Prael, A. J. "An Unpublished Letter of Bayard Taylor." *MLN*, LXI, 55-57 (Jan., 1946).

Contains a frank expression of Taylor's experiences on his tour of the Scandinavian countries in 1857.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Canby, Henry Seidel. "A Self-Appointed Interpreter to Americans." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXXVIII, 8 (Dec. 13, 1945).

A note, from *Classic Americans* (1931).

[TURNER, J. A.] "Cincinnatus." "Joseph Addison Turner: Publisher, Planter, and Countryman." *Am. Notes & Queries*, V, 115-119 (Nov., 1945).

A biographical sketch to 1862 of Joel Chandler Harris's friend and mentor, which attempts to show that the relationship to Harris has unjustly obscured Turner's own merits.

———. "The 'Countryman': A Lone Chapter in Plantation Publishing." *Am. Notes & Queries*, V, 131-135 (Dec., 1945).

An extended account of Turner's most famous publication, and an account of the last years of his life.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Bennett, Raymond M. "An Unpublished Whittier Letter." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, IX, 30-32 (Dec., 1945).

To Henry B. Stanton, Amesbury, January 10, 1858.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Coburn, Frederick W. "Theodore Edson and His Diary." *Hist. Mag. of the Prot. Episc. Church*, XIV, 307-321 (Dec., 1945).

The 8,000-page diary kept by Theodore Edson (1793-1883), rector of St. Anne's in Lowell, Massachusetts, for more than eighty years, presents vivid pictures of mid-nineteenth-century New England.

Francis, Russell E. "The Religious Revival of 1858 in Philadelphia." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXX, 52-77 (Jan., 1946).

Hoole, W. Stanley. "Charleston. Theatricals during the Tragic Decade, 1860-1869." *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XI, 538-547 (Nov., 1945).

The Charleston theater remained alive even during the war years. Legman, G. "The First Comic Books in America: Revisions and Reflections." *Am. Notes & Queries*, V, 148-151 (Jan., 1946).

In the 1830's and earlier a number of American artists were "producing material that may properly be designated 'comic.'" Apparently 1946 is the American centennial of the comic book.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. "American Literature and American Politics." *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, LIV, 59-112 (April, 1944).

Study of the interrelations of the political thinking and the literary achievement of some of our leading writers before the Civil War: Irving, Bryant, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell.

Marshall, Margaret. "Notes by the Way." *Nation*, CLXII, 130-131 (Feb. 2, 1946).

Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* examined in the context of the present day.

Wach, Joachim. "The Rôle of Religion in the Social Philosophy of Alexis de Tocqueville." *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas*, VII, 74-90 (Jan., 1946).

Although religion plays no direct part in American government, Tocqueville regarded it as primary among our political institutions.

Williams, Mentor L. "They Wrote Home About It." *Mich. Alumnus Quar. Rev.*, Summer, 1945, pp. 337-351.

Charles Fenno Hoffman, Caroline Matilda Kirkland, Margaret Fuller, Bryant, Thoreau, Cooper, and Emerson are among those who recorded travels in Michigan before the Civil War.

III. 1870-1900

- [BARR, AMELIA] Adams, Paul. "Amelia Barr in Texas, 1856-1868." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLIX, 361-373 (Jan., 1946).

Long before Mrs. Barr became famous as a feminist and the author of more than sixty sentimental novels, she and her family enjoyed varied experiences in Austin, Texas.

- [CLEMENS, S. L.] Brownell, George Hiram. "The After-Dinner Speaker's Best Friend: Mark Twain's Patent Adjustable Speech." *Twainian*, V, 1-3 (Jan.-Feb., 1946).

An uncollected address, delivered before the Boston Congregational Club on Forefather's Day, December 20, 1887.

- . "Whence Came 'Well Done, Good and Faithful Servant.'" *Twainian*, V, 3-4 (Jan.-Feb., 1946).

Twain's repetition of a pun.

- Hemminghaus, Edgar H. "Mark Twain's German Provenience." *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, VI, 459-478 (Dec., 1945).

An attempt to ascertain the extent of Twain's acquaintance with German writers, and of his opinion of them.

- Lorch, Fred W. "Mark Twain's Philadelphia Letters in the Muscatine Journal." *AL*, XVII, 348-351 (Jan., 1946).

The source was R. A. Smith's *Philadelphia As It Is in 1852*.

- Pilkington, Walter, and Alsterlund, B. "Mark Twain's Introductory Remarks at the Time of Churchill's First American Lecture." *Am. Notes & Queries*, V, 147-148 (Jan., 1946).

A hitherto unrecorded version reported by the New York *Tribune*, December 13, 1900.

- [DICKINSON, EMILY] Whicher, George F. "In Emily Dickinson's Garden." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVII, 64-70 (Feb., 1946).

Emily Dickinson was a product of her time and place, and true understanding of her poetry must therefore begin with her backgrounds: both Bernard DeVoto and Millicent Todd Bingham have recently added new myths to confuse the Emily Dickinson legend.

- [JAMES, HENRY] Havens, R. D. "A Misprint in 'The Awkward Age.'" *MLN*, LX, 497 (Nov., 1945).

- Rosenfeld, Paul. "The Henry James Revival." *Commonweal*, XLIII, 329-332 (Jan. 11, 1946).

The current revival of interest in Henry James is due chiefly to two causes: "naturalism's completion of its course among us," and the growth of a body of readers who demand what James provides—"psychological penetration, reflective characters, moral revolutions, exquisitely refined, serene and subtle expressionism."

[WHITMAN, WALT] Chace, Florence Macdermid. "A Note on Whitman's Mockingbird." *MLN*, LXI, 93-94 (Feb., 1946).

Whitman, a constant visitor in New York libraries, may have used as a source for "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" (1860) the informative prose of *Birds of Long Island*, an ornithological guide published in 1841.

Holloway, Emory. "Whitman's Message for Today." *Am. Merc.*, LXII, 202-206 (Feb., 1946).

The contemporary quality of Whitman's verse is due to the fact that he addressed himself, not to the limitations of his nineteenth-century audience, but to the future: the measure of his importance now is his ability to recognize both the manifest destiny of a united world and the irrefragable integrity of the individuals who compose it.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Harrison, James G. "Nineteenth-Century American Novels on American Journalism." *Jour. Quar.*, XXII, n.p. (Sept. and Dec., 1946).

Stern, Madeleine. "Roberts Brothers, Boston." *More Books*, XX, 419-423 (Dec., 1945).

The success of *Little Women* led the firm of Roberts Brothers to rely more on native writers and to enlarge its juvenile department.

IV. 1900-1946

[DREISER, THEODORE] Jones, Howard Mumford. "Theodore Dreiser—A Pioneer Whose Fame Is Secure." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Jan. 13, 1946, p. 5.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Peschmann, Hermann. "The Later Poetry of T. S. Eliot." *Engl.*, V, 180-188 (Autumn, 1945).

A consideration of "two main problems: a coherent interpretation of the alleged 'obscurities' of the *Four Quartets*; and their insufficiently recognized relationship to the poet's earlier work."

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Maclachlan, John Miller. "William Faulkner and the Southern Folk." *So. Folklore Quar.*, IX, 153-167 (Sept., 1945).

Faulkner's novels, viewed as sociological documents, reveal a major weakness: the "microcosmic fallacy" of which so many contemporary naturalists are guilty.

[FITZGERALD, F. SCOTT] Berryman, John. "F. Scott Fitzgerald." *Kenyon Rev.*, VIII, 103-112 (Winter, 1946).

The Great Gatsby is a masterpiece because it is a work of literary imagination which is consistent, engaging, and dramatic.

[HUGHES, LANGSTON] Hughes, Langston. "Simple and Me." *Phylon*, VI, 349-353 (Fourth Quar., 1945).

Hughes explains the character of "My Simple Minded Friend" who appears in his column, "Here to Yonder" (reprinted from the *Chicago Defender*, October 13, 1945).

[LEONARD, W. E.] Scott, Winfield Townley. "Professor as Poet." *Poetry*, LXVII, 260-265 (Feb., 1946).

William Ellery Leonard had a bitter conviction that he had failed to vindicate the Professor as Poet.

[MENCKEN, H. L.] Barzun, Jaques. "Mencken's America Speaking." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVII, 62-65 (Jan., 1946).

The Mencken of the 1920's and the learned author of *The American Language* are the same man, his vocation unchanged: America has always been Mencken's subject; he fondles it with ridicule.

[POUND, EZRA] Patchen, Kenneth. "Ezra Pound's Guilt." *Renaissance*, II, 3-4 (Feb., 1946).

Pound is condemned for having chosen evil authority, and in this choice he is guilty; but most of his fellow-citizens have also defiled and rejected things of the spirit: Pound is one of the few men of his time who wrote great poetry, and love for poetry is bigger than the judgment of any military court.

[RINEHART, MARY ROBERTS] Hellman, Geoffrey T. "Mary Roberts Rinehart." *Life*, XX, 55-56, 58, 61-62 (Feb. 25, 1946).

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Crowder, Richard. "E. A. Robinson's Craftsmanship: Opinions of Contemporary Poets." *MLN*, LXI, 1-14 (Feb., 1946).

"This study seeks to establish the part E. A. Robinson played in the development of modern poetic technique and to review the literary taste of the twentieth century as reflected in comments on Robinson's work made by other poets during his lifetime."

———. "The Emergence of E. A. Robinson." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLV, 89-98 (Jan., 1946).

A study of the critical reception of Robinson's verse.

[SMITH, LILLIAN] Dumble, Wilson R. "A Footnote to Negro Literature." *Negro Hist. Bul.*, IX, 82-84, 94-95 (Jan., 1946).

"... white Lillian Smith has treated her Negro characters in *Strange Fruit* through the mind of a Negro author."

Smith, Lillian. "Why I Wrote *Strange Fruit*." *So. Lit. Mess.*, III, 81-82 (Nov., 1945).

[SHAPIRO, KARL] Van O'Connor, William. "Shapiro on Rime." *Kenyon Rev.*, VIII, 113-122 (Winter, 1946).

"It is quite possible that the *Essay on Rime* will one day be studied, much as the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, as a formal recognition in our time that one age is done and another is beginning."

[VAN VECHTEN, CARL] Gloster, Hugh M. "The Van Vechten Vogue." *Phylon*, VI, 310-314 (Fourth Quar., 1945).

"The fatal mistake of the Van Vechten school was to make a fetish of sex and the cabaret rather than to give a faithful, realistic presentation and interpretation of Harlem life."

[WHITE, W. A.] White, William Allen. "Young Kansas Editor." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVII, 39-47 (March, 1946).

Early chapters in an autobiography.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Davis, Ruth. "Look Homeward, Angel." *SRL*, XXIX, 13-14, 31-32 (Jan. 5, 1946).

Transcript of a talk given by Mrs. Julia Elizabeth Wolfe to a New York University class on November 30, 1945.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Bender, Elizabeth Horsch. "Three Amish Novels." *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, XIX, 273-284 (Oct., 1945).

A discussion of the literary merit and authenticity of Helen R. Martin's *Sabina, A Story of the Amish* (1905), Ruth Lininger Dobson's *Straw in Wind* (1937), and Joseph W. Yoder's *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940).

Hackett, Alice P. "New Novelists of 1945." *SRL*, XXIX, 8-10 (Feb. 16, 1946).

Langley's *A Lion in the Streets* and Ullman's *The White Tower* were the most successful "first novels" of the year: of 860 new fiction titles, only 70 were by new authors.

Lynes, Carlos, Jr. "The 'Nouvelle Revue Française' and American Literature, 1909-1940." *French Rev.*, XIX, 159-167 (Jan., 1946).

Traces the "rising curve of interest" in American literature, particularly in the novel, on the part of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*.

Maurer, David M. "War and Language." *New Rép.*, CXIII, 907-909 (Dec. 31, 1945).

The use of technical terms and slang, as well as the adoption of foreign words by the armed forces of World War II, will enrich our language.

Rosenstock, Milton. "Reunion on Broadway." *SRL*, XXIX, 7-8, 48-49 (Jan. 26, 1946).

Irving Berlin's *This Is the Army* played to an audience totaling 2,500,000 in three years; it earned \$10,000,000 for Army Relief and \$350,000 for British War Charities.

Royer, Mary. "The Amish and Mennonite Theme in American Literature for Children." *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, XIX, 285-291 (Oct., 1945).

Shaw, Charles B. "The University of Oklahoma Press." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXI, 61-67 (Fall, 1945).

Has become more than a university press of regional significance.

Wolfert, Helen. "Wanted: An Audience for Our Poets." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Dec. 30, 1945, pp. 3, 10, 14.

"If every publisher in the United States who can afford it put out six volumes of intelligible poetry a year for the next five years, the relationship between poet and public would become hale again."

V. GENERAL

Brewer, J. Mason. "American Negro Folklore." *Phylon*, VI, 354-361 (Fourth Quar., 1945).

A classification of the "primary forms of Negro folklore . . . current in the present era," with examples of each.

Dykes, J. C. "Dime Novel Texas; or, the Sub Literature of the Lone Star State." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLIX, 327-340 (Jan., 1946).

Flanagan, John T. "Early Literary Periodicals in Minnesota." *Minn. Hist.*, XXVI, 293-311 (Dec., 1945).

Hayakawa, S. I. "Poetry and Advertising." *Poetry*, LXVII, 204-212 (Jan., 1946).

The two have much in common in use of rhyme and rhythm, connotative values and ambiguities.

Hayes, Carleton J. H. "The American Frontier—Frontier of What?" *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LI, 199-216 (Jan., 1946).

The American frontier is a frontier of European or "Western" culture; this culture, however modified by peculiar geographical and social conditions, is still the culture and bond of the regional community of nations on both sides of the Atlantic.

Lomax, John A. "Half-Million Dollar Song." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXI, 1-18 (Fall, 1945).

An account of the origin of "Home on the Range," at one time the subject of a half-million-dollar suit.

MacPike, E. F. "American and Canadian Diaries, Journals and Notebooks. Pt. IV." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVIII, 156-158 (May-Aug., 1945).

Concluded from previous issues.

Rogers, John William, ed. "A Round-Up of the Most Interesting Texas Books." Special Texas Issue of *Book News*, the *Dallas Times Herald*, Oct. 7, 1945.

Sponsored by editors of the *Southwest Review*, this illustrated pamphlet contains discussions of "The Mexican Element in the Culture of Texas" by E. L. De Golyer, "A Real Regional Literature" by

George Sessions Perry, "The Growth of Our Historians" by Eugene C. Barker, "Texas Historical Tales" by E. E. Leisy, and "Varieties of Texas Prose Anthologies" by Ima H. Herron.

Sampley, Arthur M. "Thin Harvest in Texas Literature." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXI, 92-94 (Fall, 1945).

Schlesinger, Arthur M. "Learning How to Behave. A Study of American Etiquette Books." *More Books*, XXI, 3-17, 53-59 (Jan. and Feb., 1946).

The first two installments carry the study through the early nineteenth century.

Stoll, Elmer Edgar. "The Downfall of Oratory: Our Undemocratic Arts." *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas*, VII, 3-34 (Jan., 1946).

THE SENTENCE STRUCTURE OF HENRY JAMES

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THE STYLE of Henry James, in the broader sense, has offered so rich a field to critics that they have hurried past the word, the phrase, and the sentence, though by so doing they have left almost unexplored the characteristic of James that first obtrudes upon the notice of the reader. In *The Method of Henry James* Professor Beach explained that he would have little occasion "to discuss the style of James, to consider in detail the vocabulary, the turn of the phrase, the structure of the sentence" (p. 6 n.). He did not, however, minimize the importance of the narrower aspects of the Jamesian prose; like most of the good critics, Beach realized that James's style (in the narrow sense), far from being a surface eccentricity, exactly embodied his intentions. In the footnote from which I have quoted, Beach goes on to say: "But the words of James are the suitable dress of his subject matter. And his style is pretty well kept in order, in all his narratives, by the jealous discipline of the story itself."

In this paper I shall make some observations upon sentence structure in the novels of James's greatest period, from *The Sacred Fount* of 1901 to *The Golden Bowl* of 1904, attempting to relate all characteristics mentioned to the "jealous discipline of the story itself," that is, to the artistic intentions of James, omitting from consideration those he may share with the writing profession at large.¹ The sentences in his prose that are simple and direct (some do exist) need no special mention; but the rangy, convoluted sentences that bear so unmistakably the hallmark of James require to be carefully analyzed and accounted for.

¹ The subject of James's revisions is not dealt with here, for the reason that this subject is at present polemical and cannot with impunity be treated except at length. The traditional notion, that James marred his early versions by revision, still persists; it vitiates Hélène Harvitt's study of the revisions of *Roderick Hudson*, *PMLA*, XXXIX, 203-227 (March, 1924), the only extended study of James's revisions prior to F. O. Matthiessen's investigation of *The Portrait of a Lady*, in *Henry James, the Major Phase* (New York, 1944).

What we first notice in the style of Henry James is the length and complexity of his sentences; on this point we may begin our investigation. First, some standard of comparison should be set up, and Dr. Johnson will serve as well as another. It has been estimated that the sentences in the early *Ramblers* average 51.4 words when counted up to the period, and 36.7 words when counted up to actual grammatical breaks (where periods might have been used in place of lesser punctuation). Other estimates show that these sentences are not unduly long as compared with various standard English writings.² With these facts in mind we may approach the sentences of James. The following calculations have been made on the second chapter of Book Second of *The Ambassadors*, a splendidly written passage of mixed narration and reflection. The 196 sentences in this chapter have an average length of 35.3 words when counted up to the period. As was apparently true of Johnson in the *Ramblers*, James also strung together with loose punctuation a number of word groups that might have been treated as separate, complete sentences; there were 33 such groups in the chapter. But more significant than this, my counting revealed an even larger number of word groups connected by an extremely loose use of conjunctions. For example: "He prolonged it a little, in the immediate neighborhood, after he had quitted his chair; and the upshot of the whole morning for him was that his campaign had begun" (*Amb.*, I, 82).³ It will be seen that the use of "and" in this sentence is much looser than in the sentence that immediately follows it: "He had wanted to put himself in relation, and he would be hanged if he were *not* in relation." In the second instance, even though the clauses are not strictly parallel in meaning or structure, the "and" must be taken as indicating that they are part of a single thought. In the first, the "and" acts as a vague mark of punctuation, indicating only a desire on the part of the author to avoid a hiatus between two thoughts that, for clarity, might seem better expressed separately. There are 44 such loosely connected word groups in the chapter. If we add them to the word groups con-

² Quoted by W. K. Wimsatt, *The Prose Style of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, 1941), p. 63 and n.

³ Throughout, the following abbreviations will be used: *Amb.* for *The Ambassadors*; *W. D.* for *The Wings of the Dove*; *G. B.* for *The Golden Bowl*; and *S. F.* for *The Sacred Fount*. All page references are to the Macmillan edition of 1923.

nected by punctuation alone, we have 77 additional grammatically complete groups, or 273 instead of 196 "sentences" in the chapter. The average length of these "sentences" is 25.3 words. The sentences of James, it seems, are considerably shorter than those of Johnson and hence rather well down in the scale of English prose.

The mere comparison between average word length in James and in Dr. Johnson accomplishes little beyond the gratification of curiosity. More valuable observations, however, begin to emerge. If we were to divide the regular compound sentences into their clauses and make another calculation, we should again considerably reduce the word average. Obviously, then, although the sentences of James seem formidably long and complex, they are, in one sense, not so. The kind of complexity possessed by the Johnsonian sentence, that violent discharge of a mindful of ideas, the Jamesian sentence does not possess. By contrast, James's ideas are expressible in relatively small numbers of words, and the smaller word groups are loosely linked together, with many interjections and parentheses, to form a complexity that is not of *idea*, but of relationship between ideas; whereas a long sentence by Johnson expresses an idea in a complex grammatical structure, a long sentence by James throws into relationship a number of ideas, each of which may have, within the sentence, its own finite grammatical structure. James's predilection was for the loose sentence; there are not above half a dozen grammatically periodic sentences among the 196 we have been discussing. Similarly, there are surprisingly few subordinate constructions. In spite of the long, difficult sentences, therefore, we might conclude that James habitually composed in small units, by patching together a succession of "brief" ideas. Further lines of investigation, however, suggest a preferable way of describing what we find—namely, that for reasons to be discussed, he habitually and deliberately broke down his complex meanings into smaller units, as the spectrum breaks down the ray of light.

The violence James wreaked upon the normal structure of the English sentence produced sentences too various in form to be tabulated, but most of his distortions seem to have been dictated by a single, broad principle, in conformity with a general artistic compulsion. The distortions are of a kind that evade or obliterate the normal elements of connection and cohesion. When he has un-

done the usual ties, his meanings float untethered, grammatically speaking, like particles in colloidal suspension. The finality, the crystallization, that ordinary sentence order and signs defining relationship bestow upon prose has been skilfully foregone in favor of other values. In these peculiar sentences, facts remain tentative, intentions fluid, and conclusions evanescent. Since they are to a degree freed from the limitations of grammatical laws, their variety is endless. No writer was ever less guilty, unless it be Joyce or Gertrude Stein, of monotonous sentence structure; what we may mistake for monotony must arise, not from too much repetition of a chosen pattern, but from the mere effort of reading prose in which many of the usual helps to comprehension have been circumvented.

It follows, therefore, that the stylistic peculiarities of James's sentences, which this paper will consider, are to be found in the devices he used in contriving his almost agrammatical sentences. The devices of weak conjunctions and loose punctuation have already been mentioned above, with an example, and an estimation of their prevalence. Perhaps the next most apparent characteristic of James's style is his consistent disregard of normal sentence order.

Sentence Order. A purist might wonder if James had ever heard of the normal English sentence order, so consistently does he violate it. His reasons for the violations are related to his artistic intentions, both in detail and in gross. Sometimes they are not apparent, or only partly apparent, in the sentences themselves; when they are, as in the two examples that follow, they can easily be appreciated:

"How can I not feel more than anything else how they adore together my boy?" (*G.B.*, I, 274)

It was the first time in her life that this had happened; somebody, everybody appeared to have known before, at every instant of it, where she was; so that she was now suddenly able to put it to herself that that hadn't been a life. (*W.D.*, I, 221)

In the first example, the awkward position of "together" gives it an almost painful emphasis, and his wife's relation to her father has for the Prince, who is speaking, exactly this painful emphasis. It is this relationship which enables him to find moral sanction for his own relationship with Charlotte Stant. In the second example, the equally awkward, groping sentence reflects the cogitations of Milly

Theale and suggests the groping out of which her revelation "suddenly" comes.

Other writers depart, perhaps frequently, from normal order to secure emphasis, but not quite as James has done. Usually emphasis secured in this manner is simple emphasis, the peculiar nature of which—and the reasons for it—must be inferred from the context. As we see, James often so misordered his sentence that the new alignment of elements created not only the emphasis but some definition of it; this is an achievement more common in poetry than in prose. One must, however, at once concede that emphasis so refined often lacks the explosive force of the commoner kind; perhaps it is better not to think of it as emphasis so much as greatly extended plasticity of structure.

Another example may send us further afield in search of reasons: "He pulled himself then at last together for his own progress back; not with the feeling that he had taken his walk in vain" (*Amb.*, I, 82). Here three elements are out of place: "then," "at last," and the phrase, curiously punctuated as a clause, "not with the feeling that he had taken his walk in vain." Out of context, this sentence pleads for revision; the departure from the normal seems to have little justification. Perhaps to some extent Strether's effort at pulling himself together is suggested by the position of "then" and "at last," but if this is the purpose, it is certainly overdone by the dangling litotes with which the sentence trails off in defiance of the positive note of the actual sense. Nor does the context of the sentence encourage us to an intuition of such extreme negativeness in Strether as this line of interpreting would lead to. We must look instead to the gross artistic purpose. Let us continue our discussion of this point under the next device to be considered.

Parentheses. Closely allied to sentence order, since their interruptions often destroy it, are the parenthetical expressions with which James breaks down the continuity of many of his statements. One finds instances on every page.

We share this world, none the less, for the hour, with Mr. Verver; the very fact of his striking, as he would have said, for solitude, the fact of his quiet flight, almost on tiptoe, through tortuous corridors, investing him with an interest that makes our attention—tender indeed almost to compassion—qualify his achieved isolation. (*G.B.*, I, III)

Mixed with everything was the apprehension, already, on Strether's part, that it would, at best, throughout, prove the note of Europe in quite a sufficient degree. (*Amb.*, I, 3)

"And who is it then that—if, as you say, you've spoken to no one—has, as I may call it, talked you under?" (*S.F.*, 208)

In the first of these examples, a reason for the interpolated reservations appears within the sentence itself. James is expressing his sense that Mr. Verver's hour of liberty is qualified not only by its time limits and quasi secrecy, but by his and our very consciousness of the presence of such restrictions; he expresses this information partly by a sentence structure in which the narrative statements and the crisp relationships between them are hedged about and broken down by the qualifying reservations.

We may, moreover, conclude that the destruction of simple clarity in the other examples functionally connotes the inner confusion of Strether, on the eve of his momentous embassy, and the analytical monomania of the narrator in *The Sacred Fount*. These explanations, however, are only part of the truth. If we stop here, we shall be guilty of what has been called the imitative fallacy, the fallacy of supposing that an author must (or may) write confusingly in order to describe confusion. The truth is that James did not design his loose, floating sentence primarily to convince us that his characters were in equivalent mental states, any more than Hamlet mixed a metaphor in the beginning of "To be or not to be" to convince the audience that he was agitated. Had that been James's purpose, he should have reserved such effects for the appropriate characters, but this he did not do; his narrow-minded, convinced persons speak the same loose language, and so do the more interesting persons, even as they finally attain their illuminating, "magnificent" certainties.

The innumerable parenthetical interpolations, like the sentences of abnormal order, attempt to achieve a larger aim. James plunges many of his characters, like Strether and the Ververs, into situations wherein previously established frames of reference no longer possess validity, and they are forced to make a fresh adaptation to environment, particularly to moral environment. Their very epistemology must be born anew. This, and the demand that the reader fully share in the reorientation, may be called the major, general aim of

his art. A tight sentence is a fixative—and the subject of James's tales is lack of fixity, or a dissolution of it in order to recombine the fixed elements in a larger, expanding reorganization. In this purpose he by no means stands alone; what is unique in him as a craftsman is his method of making the prose sentence work toward the desired end.

If we grant the effect of weak conjunctions, unusual sentence order, and parenthetical interruptions in unsettling the sentences, we should next require some evidence of machinery for recombining their freed elements. And, of course, we should look for the operation of this machinery in sentence structure, as well as in the larger matters of character, plot, and theme.

Emphasis upon Relating Expressions. Many times James assures us that his novels present relationships rather than objects or even people. In the beginning of *The Ambassadors*, Strether does not worry about the difficulty of his errand; there were, instead, "early signs in him that *his relations* to his actual errand might prove none of the simplest." (*Italics mine.*) In the Preface to *The Wings of the Dove*, James wrote:

The author's accepted task at the outset has been to suggest with force the nature of the tie formed between the two young persons first introduced—to give the full impression of its peculiar worried and baffled, yet clinging and confident, ardour. (P. xxi)

It is the "tie" that he will discuss, and its complicated ardor, rather than the ardor of the young persons themselves. Finally, the two things are not separable, but one author's treatment may differ from another's in this respect by many degrees of emphasis.

We may distinguish three orders of relationship constantly being emphasized throughout the later writings of James. The first—a simple, rhetorical order—consists in explicit statements of relationship. As examples of this order, we have the above statement of Strether's relation to his errand. We must agree at once that, however remarkable the relation is as the subject of a novel, there is nothing at all remarkable about this means of expressing it.

The second and third orders may be called structural, since they are expressed by grammatical means, and thereby fall more directly than the first within the scope of this discussion. The second order is simply the expression of relationship between the parts of the

sentence. It is true, of course, that without relationship, no sentence exists, but here again it is a matter of emphasis. James secures great emphasis for these relating elements by two favorite devices: by italicizing the relating words and by the already discussed unconventional organization of his sentences. The first of these devices is frequently employed, as a casual inspection of any of the later writings will reveal. The occurrences are not all of equal interest—"... he should have been there with, and as it might have been said, *for Chad*" (*Amb.*, I, 78). To distinguish the second preposition from the first, any reader would allow it some emphasis, and any writer might italicize it, particularly if he wrote before emphatic italics went out of fashion. Few writers, however, would have italicized the words chosen by James for special emphasis in the following sentences; it might not be too extreme to say that another writer would have regarded these words as almost the last ones in the sentences to emphasize.

"What in the world is he *to* us?" (*W.D.*, I, 37)

"I won't *be* left." (*G.B.*, I, 26)

"Of my real honest fear of being 'off' some day, of being wrong, *without* knowing it." (*G.B.*, I, 28)

"For anything in the way of a surprise. But only *from* you." (*S.F.*, p. 218)

Even more frequent than this employment of italics is the use of abnormal sentence order to secure emphasis upon words denoting relationship. The sentences often seem to have been unthreaded and restrung for the sole purpose of removing emphasis from the nouns and active verbs and throwing it instead upon humbler words of connection: "There's nothing for me possible but to feel that I'm not a fool" (*W.D.*, II, 181). This arrangement obviously stresses "for" more than a conventional arrangement would do: "Nothing is possible for me but to feel that I'm not a fool."

The third order of relating expressions common in James consists in expressions within a sentence which relate that sentence to what has gone before and what will come after. Transitional expressions of this kind are employed by most writers, but not ordinarily as by James. His are more numerous, in the form of parentheses or interjections they more frequently interrupt the sentences

in which they occur, and they contribute heavily to the unusual texture of his writing. They seem to accomplish in a larger range what is accomplished by the second order we have just described. Their variety is considerable. "The reason was—into which he had lived quite intimately by the end of a quarter of an hour—that just this truth of their safety offered it now a kind of unexampled receptacle . . ." (*G.B.*, I, 266). It will be noticed that the transitional or connective quality of the linking phrases in the above example is grammatically vague; the antecedent is not a word, phrase, or sentence, but more generally what has been going on for some time past.

In the discussion of sentence order the following sentence was quoted as an instance of James's violation of what we regard as the normal order of the English sentence: "How can I not feel more than anything else how they adore together my boy?" The extraordinary emphasis upon "together" is immediately felt. In keeping with his purpose, James forcibly directs our attention where he wants it to go, to the fact that the significant nature of this adoration consists in the relationship of the adorers. But he goes further than that. The misplacing of "together" is not the only peculiarity of the sentence. The adverbial expression "more than anything else" seems remarkably long and emphatically located in proportion to the rest of the meaning, consisting as it does of four words and occupying a position that unnaturally postpones the final clause. This, too, is an expression of relationship, not of persons this time, but of meanings: it relates the meaning of the sentence to many previous and subsequent meanings that form the complex of the Prince's consciousness of his situation.

The significance of the interjection in the next example will not be lost upon anyone who recalls the part played by Kate Croy in *The Wings of the Dove*. "They themselves suggested nothing worse—always by Kate's system—than a pair of the children of a super-civilised age making the best of an awkwardness" (*W.D.*, II, 181). A brief passage will show better than these plucked examples how the expressions of which we are talking operate in a typical "conversation piece." Fanny Assingham, the great subtilizer, reviews matters with her husband. I have italicized the relating expressions. "He has behaved beautifully—he did from the first. I've thought it *all*

along wonderful of him; and I've *more than once when I've had a chance* told him so. *Therefore, therefore—!*" But it died away as she mused.

"Therefore he has a right, *for a change*, to kick up his heels?"

"It isn't a question *of course however*," she undivertedly went on, "of their behaving beautifully apart. It's a question of their doing as they should when together—*which is another matter*."

"And how do you think *then*," the Colonel asked with interest, "that *when together* they should do? The less they do, one would say, the better—if you see so much in it." (G.B., I, 248)

A final example of this device must be given: "You after all then now don't?" (S.F., p. 248). Here, not only the emphasis, but most of the material of the sentence, is connective. The relating expressions extend in every direction, like the arms connecting the chemical elements in diagrams of molecules. In these, as in most of the expressions quoted above, the antecedents are indistinct; the referents tend to include all of the complex consciousness of a character or situation achieved up to the present moment. Yet the expressions are truly connectives rather than summaries; what has been achieved is merely referred to, not epitomized.

Good conventional prose structurally resembles a chain of links, in which the links may represent sentences, each tied to the preceding one, or paragraphs, each likewise tied to the preceding one. With numerous exceptions, we discover the relationship of one unit with an earlier unit by tracing back, link by link, the orderly chain of argument. The prose of James progresses much less simply. New units tend to contain elements of orientation with a great deal, if not all, that has gone before; the meaning expands in a process of accretion. With each new unit a fresh atom joins the ring of fluid, organic, suspended meaning. To this also there are some exceptions; not every sentence in the prose of James differs so radically from what we regard as the conventional structure of sentences. But such sentences are characteristic of him, and along with other qualities (especially diction) contribute to his prose the peculiar Jamesian texture. As sentence joins sentence in a gradually revealed whole, as "the waters of talk spread a little," the figure in the carpet, that is, the whole carpet, becomes visible. Using different terms, the narrator of *The Sacred Fount* describes the effect of this kind of writing, in its relation to meaning: "It could *not* but be exciting to

talk, as we talked, on the basis of those suppressed processes and unavowed references which made the meaning of our meeting so different from its form" (*S.F.*, p. 212).

Ambiguity. James's sentences are occasionally grammatically ambiguous. Doubtless every reader has noticed examples, which seem to grow slightly more numerous in the later books, where the style reaches its highest point of development. Many of the sentences, of course, are difficult, their grammar appearing only after a second reading; parsing them is something of a struggle, yet it can be done. Sometimes, however, after parsing has relieved the technical difficulty, the sense of ambiguity remains. "‘And you knew,’ I sighed; ‘so beautifully, you glowed over it so, this morning!’" (*S.F.*, p. 203). "So beautifully" obviously modifies "knew"; nevertheless, its force continues to attach partly to "glowed," where we first apply it.

Other sentences more stubbornly resist our parsing. "He had quite the consciousness of his new friend, for their companion, that he might have had of a Jesuit in petticoats . . ." (*Amb.*, I, 35). This sentence, one might say, skilfully avoids telling us exactly who had the consciousness of the new friend, Maria Gostrey, as a Jesuit in petticoats—the subject, Strether, or the companion, Waymarsh. Does Strether have the consciousness that Waymarsh has the consciousness of Miss Gostrey as a Jesuit in petticoats? Or does Strether alone have the consciousness, while Waymarsh has something else, say an intuition? Grammatically the difficulty arises from the floating nature of the phrase "for their companion," and from the possibility that the second "he" refers to "companion" as its antecedent. Rhetorically, the effect given is of a "consciousness" detached from either individual, hovering like a disembodied entity over the situation.

Stylization. In what has gone before we have seen some examples of different devices used by James to break down the orderly tightness of English prose; these devices go far toward constituting the author's style. In so far as they may be closely identified with his purposes, no other term is needed to denominate them. The stage is reached, however, when this style of sentence serves as a pattern for other sentences wherein the cogency of the devices is not so immediately felt. At this point it seems convenient to em-

ploy another term to describe what is happening, and to speak of the second lot of sentences as undergoing stylization.

In the mature writings of James, we find a few passages written in a style comparatively free from deliberate grammatical breaches. These passages develop the narrative and character portrayal in a relatively sharp, straightforward, fast-moving manner. Their texture stands out in bold relief against the prose with which they are associated. *The Golden Bowl* begins with such a passage, about three pages long.

The Prince had always liked his London, when it had come to him; he was one of the Modern Romans who find by the Thames a more convincing image of the truth of the ancient state than any they have left by the Tiber. . . . (G.B., I, 3)

Here the problem is simple exposition, and the style, except for one difficult sentence, reads more like E. M. Forster, with a reminiscence of Ford Madox Ford, than like Henry James. In *The Wings of the Dove* we find a much longer passage of comparatively straightforward prose. The first 162 pages, containing the magnificent presentation of Kate Croy in her father's house, suggests the kind of writing James might have done had he chosen to develop the style in which he wrote *The Europeans*. Then, rather abruptly, the writing shifts into the dense, prefigured, nubilous style he actually did develop.

Although James confessed to an especial admiration for the opening of *The Wings of the Dove*, his favorite novel, *The Ambassadors*, contains none of these fragments of dry land. And although we cannot but admire this opening, we do so with some reluctance, as we admire a Miltonic digression. It does not fit the rest of the work; it cannot sustain its indubitable force against the whelming tide of the rest. And because style, for James, was a mode of apprehension as well as an arrangement of words, the opening of this novel secedes from the bulk of it. There are two Kate Croys; although nothing in the character of the first is inconsistent with the character of the second, they are the creatures of different texture and different timbre.

This slight incompatibility, undoubtedly perceived by James, may explain why there are so few passages like the opening in the later writings of James, but it does not explain why there are so

few like the simple passage of exposition in the beginning of *The Golden Bowl*. Granted that James had to use his characteristic style when engaged in tasks for which no other style could equally serve, why does he almost uniformly employ it when a simpler might do as well, if not better? This question involves the master device, for such it is, of stylization.

Art demands consistency of method. This simple canon applies with particular force to methods that depart from the conventional in brilliance or peculiarity. We are aware of the shock of unplanned incongruity in such a work as Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, where the most brilliant and high-flown blank verse lies side by side with passages of vulgar comedy. It is not enough to say that the dramatic scenes and the comic scenes are incongruous; the styles in which the scenes are presented are incongruous, and it is this incongruity as much as the other which gives *Faustus* its patchwork effect. It can be argued that Shakespeare, on the other hand, was hyperconscious of this problem. In his great plays the messengers and other business characters often speak a language more turgid, more arty, than that of any of the major characters. It is necessary that, to some extent, they should do so. The high moments, when nothing but the full resources of Shakespeare's baroque blank verse can serve his purposes, are of course exaggerated in treatment; the flight from common realism is extreme. When the listener is led into these experiences, his feet must not be dragging on the common earth; that is, he must be fully attuned to the style in which the most complex of the play's various communications will be uttered. Therefore even the messengers, from whom we could wish a crisper exposition, communicate in a fustian which, when related merely to what they have to say, seems ridiculous.

If the opening of *The Wings of the Dove* fails to flow smoothly into, and become absorbed in, the remainder of the novel, this is an error that James did not often commit. Almost throughout the later writings, the most elementary, subsidiary communications are rendered in freely floating, grammatically dissociated terms. Perhaps in *Faustus*, Marlowe experimented with the Renaissance concept of verisimilitude, hoping to make Wagner talk like a neophyte, the clowns like clowns. An artist whose art requires such a high degree of stylization as that of Shakespeare or James knows he must re-

nounce the concept of verisimilitude in favor of a higher one: he must tune the speech of all his characters to the speech of the ones entrusted with the achievement of his artistic purposes. Fidelity to these purposes must take precedence over fidelity to realism. By such means he makes good his stylization.

The characteristic stylization of James made possible to him an artistic effect of another order, which I shall barely mention here, as it has been amply recognized by other writers on James. A beam of talk, dispersed through the refracting prism of his style, emerges in such a way as to suggest the voluble and logically incoherent chatter of society conversation. Thus, in spite of their awesome portentousness, the all-important conversations in the James novels have a felicitously large measure of informality and whimsicality.

The next question to arise is whether James made any further characteristic use of his style in character delineation. In so far as his characters are like each other, educated, refined, avidly analytical, he did of course use his style, not only to suggest, but to *be*, their personality. In so far as they are different, however (and their differences outweigh their similarities), the *differentiae* are rarely suggested by idioms of speech. That the differences are felt, though not represented in speech, can be true partly because the important differences are of perception and moral nature, which may be established by the content as well as by the manner of discourse. Moreover, James had little real interest in the more immediately perceptible, more practically human, individual differences, his art being at the furthest possible remove from that of Dickens. But to some degree, the uniformity of conversational texture must have been maintained because he felt a functional coercion to preserve his stylization; hence his businessmen, his naïve Americans, speak the same language grammatically that is spoken by his superrefined expatriates and decadent countesses.

I have found very few exceptions to this rule, and those by no means clear cut. The best case is that of Charlotte Stant, the "villainess" of *The Golden Bowl*. Charlotte Stant, it will be remembered, provides the rift in the affairs of Maggie Verver and her Prince that constitutes the flaw in the golden bowl, yet we are required to view her with a most delicately balanced attitude of disapprobation and admiration; when the disastrous moral results of

her intervention have all been made clear, she is still "utterly magnificent," and in the end, entirely worthy of pity. In a way, James has presented her to us more dramatically than he presented her sister libertine, Kate Croy, because her speech partially reveals her nature, even from the very start, before events and analyses have slowly disclosed the nature of the situation she has brought about. Like the others, she speaks in jerky periods, full of parentheses, interruptions, ambiguities, and loose transitional elements, but in her case a pattern of departure from normally tight construction has been established, a pattern that contributes to the development of her character as well as to the development of the story. Charlotte pours out her ideas in an emotional rush and constantly retreats in the expression of a meaning to patch up, or tinker with, parts of it that her emotion has led her to misstate. The emotion produces an impression of force and vitality, and enables us to see why the others accept her without question as "magnificent," but the patching process reveals quite clearly her underlying instability. In the dramatic park scene, before Maggie's marriage to the Prince, Charlotte speaks to the Prince:

"... I wanted you to understand. I wanted you, that is, to hear. I don't care, I think, whether you understand or not. If I ask nothing of you I don't—I mayn't—ask even so much as that." (I, 87)

A little later in the same scene, Charlotte expresses, or tries to express, something of her attitude toward Maggie.

"That's what I mean," Charlotte instantly said. "She's not selfish enough. There's nothing, absolutely, that one *need* do for her. She's so modest," she developed—"she doesn't miss things. I mean if you love her—or rather, I should say, if she loves you. She lets it go." (I, 91)

Though the discussion here is ostensibly about the gift that Charlotte will select for Maggie's wedding, enough of her nature is revealed to foreshadow the deeper intentions that probably at this stage she has not even articulated to herself. Another of Charlotte's significant verbal habits is the repetition of emphatic elements.

"What else, my dear, what in the world else can we do?" (I, 265)

"They come back—they come back. Everything," she went on, "comes back." (I, 268)

"You bore yourself, you see. But I don't, I don't, I don't." (I, 269)

"I had my idea. It seemed to me important. It has *been*—it is important." (I, 272)

None of these expressions alone would stand out significantly in the texture of James's prose style. Other characters from time to time express themselves in these structures. But only Charlotte has, as it were, a set of patterns of her own, which recur again and again in her speeches.

Maggie, on her side, has a tendency to interrupt her observations with parenthetical expressions that relate the meaning of the observation more personally to herself, and her opinions. The effect is rather charming and indicative of the poised, unstylish charm which she opposes to the unfettered brilliance of Charlotte.

"If I've read but two or three yet, I shall give myself up but the more—as soon as I have time—to the rest." (I, 9)

"His relation to the things he cares for—and I think it beautiful—is absolutely romantic." (I, 10)

She, too, often repeats part of her sentence; but in her case the repetition frequently deprecates, in a playful manner, the main idea she has expressed. "We've been like a pair of pirates—positively stage pirates, the sort who wink at each other and say 'Ha—ha!' when they come to where their treasure is buried" (I, 12). Maggie's patterns, however, occur less frequently and much less insistently than those of Charlotte. For the most part, Maggie, like the other characters in James, dips with a free hand into the bottomless supply of verbal arrangements made available by the Jamesian grammar.

In the case of the novelist, the coercion of stylization extends over passages of exposition and narration as well as over the speech of characters. In the case of James, it extended over his critical prefaces, his letters, and even his talk. Stylization had its way over the man, as over his writings. It became to some degree a mannerism, or used for its own sake, in his extra-artistic communications, and also in his art, which should have been freest of it. Yet it is unjust to apply the word "mannerism" to James, if by the term we mean an affectation more or less consciously assumed in order to create the impression of originality. The personal style, the con-

versational obliquities, of James manifest the engrossing nature of his art and the merging of this art into identity with all the aspects of life which, for him, had any reality. The mannerism is a natural human consequence of artistic conscience.

Thus far we have dealt with qualities in the style of James which have to do with his freedom from customary grammatical restraints. More than anything else, these qualities account for the personal texture of his style, the texture that is distinct from others, lending itself readily to lampoon or admiration. There remains, however, one other trait of this style to notice before we shall have completed our investigation of it. This is a characteristic use of certain rather showy tropes.

The majority of James's sentences contain the kind of departures from normal we have been discussing. A smaller number of them contain no structural peculiarities and seem on the whole rather simple and straightforward. A still smaller number are again highly wrought, but in accordance with traditional principles of sentence elaboration; these require some mention.

The kind of arrangements here involved reminds us of the *schemata verborum* of the late sixteenth century, especially of the euphuistic prose. The words are so carefully arranged in accordance with their sound, initial letter, and part of speech that we might expect their presence in the Jamesian fabric to be obtrusive. Curiously it is not. Before we ask why, let us have some examples. The following sentence occurs at the beginning of one, and following another, paragraph describing Maggie's Prince: "Something of this sort was in any case the moral and the murmur of his walk" (*G.B.*, I, 16). On the fulcrum of "in any case" a structure has been balanced that would have done credit to John Lyly. Alliteration occurs on either side of the fulcrum, and "something of this sort" balances exactly, syllable for syllable, "murmur of his walk." The artificial elaboration may be said to provide an arrest, a sort of salvage edge, to the paragraphs on either side of it. Another example, at the end of a paragraph: "When they were so disposed as to shelter surprises the surprises were apt to be shocks" (*G.B.*, I, 20). Another, not quite so precise, occurring in the midst of a long, loose sentence: ". . . he saw himself partaking, at the close of the day, with the enhancements of a coarse white cloth and a sanded floor,

of something fried and felicitous, washed down with authentic wine . . ." (*Amb.*, II, 221). Sometimes the schemata are much more elaborate than this, as in the following sentence, where phrasing, not alliteration, is the principle of balance: "What was singular was that it seemed not so much an expectation of anything in particular as a large bland blank assumption of merits almost beyond notation, of essential quality and value" (*G.B.*, I, 20). Occasionally the principle is simple chiasmus, as in this example: "She tried to be sad so as not to be angry, but it made her angry that she couldn't be sad" (*W.D.*, I, 4). Fairly frequently the basis of elaboration is rhythmical, sometimes with effects of sound almost lyrically ornate, as: "They walked, wandered, wondered, and, a little, lost themselves . . ." (*Amb.*, I, 99).

Such effects as these (along with the more numerous simple, pithy sentences mentioned above) contribute a heightened tension to a prose which, for all its own peculiar artifice, forever threatens to become devitalized by preciosity. What success they have in saving the situation is, perhaps, a matter of individual opinion. One does not feel, however, that they fail to blend with their neighbors. They adapt gracefully to their environment, probably because, however they differ in structure, their effect is basically similar.

The texture of euphuistic prose, woven of *figurae verborum*, as opposed to *figurae sententiae*, produces a diffuse or floating effect, akin to the more purposefully controlled effects of James himself. The preoccupation with length and sound of words, and balanced groupings of them, shifts the emphasis from simple sense to tone, from meaning to mode of expression. At a sacrifice, the words themselves, liberated from sharp, context-determined definitions, float suggestively upon waters of association. A similar shift, as we have seen, took place in the characteristic structures of James; though unlike the Euphuists, he controlled the tides of association with a moonlike rigor.

PATTERNS OF MEANING IN NIGHTS WITH UNCLE REMUS

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THE LITERARY dialect of Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus books has been seriously discussed.¹ The folklore contained in the tales has been studied and speculated upon; analogues have been compiled; the motives have been placed and recorded.² Appreciative biographies and sketches of Harris and his work have been written.³ Favorable and unfavorable comments on Harris's treatment of the Negro have appeared from time to time.⁴ But, on the whole, little serious attention has been given to the Uncle Remus volumes as literature and as examples of a definite type of literary "strategy."⁵ Perhaps Uncle Remus himself may be called upon to justify a serious approach to the books. The old man told Sis

¹ See James A. Harrison, "Negro English," *Anglia*, VII, 232-279 (1884), and George Philip Krapp, *The English Language in America* (New York, 1925), I, 240-253.

² See J. M. McBryde, "Brer Rabbit in the Folk-tales of the Negro and Other Races," *Sewanee Review*, XIX, 185-206 (April, 1911), and F. M. Warren, "'Uncle Remus' and 'The Roman de Renard,'" *Modern Language Notes*, V, 257-270 (May, 1890).

³ See Alvin F. Harlow, *Joel Chandler Harris (Uncle Remus), Plantation Storyteller* (New York [1941]); Julia Collier Harris, *The Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris* (Boston, 1918); Robert Lemuel Wiggins, *The Life of Joel Chandler Harris* (Nashville, 1918); H. E. Harman, "Joel Chandler Harris: The Prose Poet of the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVII, 243-248 (July, 1918); and John Donald Wade, "Profits and Losses in the Life of Joel Chandler Harris," *The American Review*, I, 17-35 (April, 1933).

⁴ See Sterling A. Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction* (Washington, 1937), pp. 53-58, and John Herbert Nelson, *The Negro Character in American Literature* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1926), pp. 107-119.

⁵ Critical comment may, however, be found in such studies as Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation* (New York, 1924), pp. 74-77; Brown, *op. cit.*; Harmon, *op. cit.*; and Nelson, *op. cit.* The term "strategy" is explained by Kenneth Burke. Literature may be treated as something more, or less, than "pure" literature by applying to it a technique of sociological criticism. Like folk proverbs, literary works may be thought of as "strategies for dealing with situations." The literary artist selects from his environment a representative set of experiences which people need to name; his work is the "strategic naming" of that situation or "pattern of experience." And sociological criticism is concerned with codifying "the various strategies which artists have developed with relation to the naming of situations." Mr. Burke suggests some of the strategies: works of art may be "strategies for selecting enemies and allies, for socializing losses, . . . for purification, propitiation, and desanctification, consolation and vengeance, admonition and exhortation, implicit commands or instructions of one sort or another" (*The Philosophy of Literary Form*, Baton Rouge, 1941, pp. 296-304).

Tempy with "unusual emphasis" that "ef deze yer tales wuz des fun, fun, fun, en giggle, giggle, giggle, I let you know I'd a-done drapt um long ago."⁶ By holding some of the tales long enough to analyze them, we may see some of the complex literary strategy involved in these "children's books."

I propose to point out a complexity in the second Uncle Remus book, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, by an analysis of several of its levels of significance. On one level Harris is speaking to his readers as a white man of the South: he is speaking primarily to the Northern reader; in a sense his representative in the book is the little white boy to whom the stories are told. On another level Harris is writing as a Negro, and Uncle Remus is his representative. On still another level the Negro folk are giving their point of view through the folk tales. Finally, on another plane of the last level the Negro is adding certain magical and religious elements which tend to deify Brer Rabbit, his representative in the tales. As in any successful work of art, these are not independent, exclusive strata one above the other. They overlap, play off against each other, and make a final unity in which there is much irony.

Nights with Uncle Remus must first be placed in the environment out of which it grew. A peculiar type of social order had to be named after the Civil War in the South. The literary work naming the situation had to please the North as well as the South, for, ironically, the victorious North must now also accept the amalgamation of the sections. Joel Chandler Harris devoted much of his attention to one aspect of society in the South: "the Negro question" or "the Negro problem." As an editorialist on the *Atlanta Constitution* and as an essayist for many Northern magazines, Harris was recognized "among white readers everywhere as the greatest authority on Negro life." And it was Uncle Remus that won him this primacy.⁷

We must look very briefly at this problem on which Harris was an authority. The imperfections of the Reconstruction regime had led to the virtual abandonment of the Radical Congressional program for the Negro shortly after Harris came up to the Atlanta

⁶ Joel Chandler Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (Boston [1881 and 1883]), p. 330.

⁷ Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937), p. 211. See also Julia Collier Harris, ed., *Joel Chandler Harris, Editor and Essayist* (Chapel Hill, 1931), *passim*.

Constitution in 1876. Professor Paul H. Buck states that after 1877 the majority in the North were convinced that the Negro was not ready for equality. The South should be permitted to work out its own solution to the problem. "The South had won its major point."⁸

The adjustment which the South evolved was similar to the aristocratic class system of the ante-bellum slave order.⁹ A pattern of life developed which kept the Negro inferior politically, economically, and socially.¹⁰

The paternalism of the dominant aristocratic Southerner had two aspects. He wanted to keep the Negro inferior, but he displayed great sympathy toward the Negro who knew his place and showed the proper sort of deference.¹¹ Such an attitude often went along with happy memories of the good days of slavery before the war. Harris writes of slavery that "in some of its aspects it was far more beautiful and inspiring than any of the relations that we have between employers and the employed in this day and time."¹² And he also writes rhapsodic descriptions of "the patriarchal—we had almost written feudal—establishment known as the old plantation."¹³ For Harris and other Southerners "the simple and sufficient principle of *noblesse oblige*" was preferred "over all the nostrums of all the reformers" for solving the Negro problem.¹⁴

The paternalistic pattern became widespread, for it implies an aristocratic origin in the white man. It was a matter for social pride to have a Negro adopt the paternalistic relationship toward one.¹⁵ The true "unreconstructed aristocrat" would naturally fall into this

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

⁹ Miss Thompson, writing on Reconstruction in Georgia, summarizes the attitude of the Southern white man: "Slavery was the proper condition of the blacks, and even though the mechanism was destroyed, the principles on which it rested, inferiority of negroes to whites, incompetence to work without direction and compulsion, irresponsibility . . . still remained" (C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia, Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872*, New York, 1915, p. 130).

¹⁰ Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

¹¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (New York [1944]), I, 592.

¹² "The Negro as the South Sees Him," *Saturday Evening Post*, CLXXVI, 23 (Jan. 2, 1904).

¹³ Quoted in Wiggins, *op. cit.*, p. 268. For Henry Grady's similar attitude, see Myrdal, *op. cit.*, II, 1375-1376.

¹⁴ Thomas H. English, "In Memory of Uncle Remus," *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 82 (Feb., 1940).

¹⁵ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, I, 593.

way of looking at the Negro; the middle class, to which Harris belonged, would ambitiously bolster its own position by taking the same attitude.

We see from this summary that the *situation* in the South after the Civil War was that of a society with a class structure of a semi-feudal type which tended to look to the better days of the past for rationalization and glorification.

This more or less feudal pattern shows itself not only in the class structure, with its serf population, aristocracy, and paternalism, but also in the more superficial personal and literary patterns. A literary strategy, the pastoral tradition, popular at the close of the Middle Ages when the past needed to be glorified in order to preserve the *status quo*, developed in the South.¹⁶ I do not mean that the adoption was necessarily conscious; I mean rather that one can find in the work of Joel Chandler Harris and other Southerners many of the themes and patterns of the pastoral.¹⁷ In reading this literature we are confronted with a recurring *situation* which the authors have named according to the pastoral tradition.¹⁸

¹⁶ Kenneth Burke writes that the situations named by the various literary strategies are in a sense timeless: Aesop's Fables may be applied to human relations now just as they were in Greece. Foxes and lions may be used to express the relationship at one time; other terms may be appropriate in other situations. "But beneath the change in particulars, we may often discern the naming of the one situation" (*op. cit.*, p. 302).

¹⁷ Harris called his home "Snap-Bean Farm," "a joking parody on the name, 'Sabine Farm'" (Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 233). One of Harris's favorite authors was Oliver Goldsmith, the Goldsmith who created the humble vicar and the pastoral "The Deserted Village" (Julia Collier Harris, *Editor and Essayist*, p. 254).

¹⁸ This "pastoral tradition" is the pastoral of Mr. William Empson. "The essential trick of the old pastoral, *which was felt to imply a beautiful relation between rich and poor* [my italics], was to make simple people express strong feelings . . . in learned and fashionable language. . . ." In the mock pastoral the learned language drops out. Versions of the pastoral are likely to add further meanings by comparing shepherds as rulers of sheep with the heroic leaders of society. They add in this way the heroic tradition to the pastoral, and there is a reversal of values in which the last in society become the first. The praise of simplicity which was often a part of the tradition was often connected with the exaggerated flattery of a patron. This latter type "was much parodied, especially to make the poor man worthy but ridiculous, as often in Shakespeare." The poor, simple man is a fool, but yet he has "better 'sense' than his betters," for he is close to nature, has the wisdom of the unconscious, and has nothing to lose by speaking the truth. The realistic mock pastoral often contains social criticism. If the person described is too poor to participate in the benefits of his society, he is independent and can be a critic. If he is forced into crime, "he is the judge of the society that judges him." This results in an irony directed at him and at the society. Furthermore, if he is treated sympathetically he can "suggest both Christ as the scapegoat (so invoking Christian charity) and the sacrificial tragic hero, who was normally above society rather than below it, which is a further source of irony" (*English Pastoral Poetry*, New York [1938], pp. 11-17).

When Joel Chandler Harris functioned as a white Southerner writing for a Northern audience, he had reason to fall into the pastoral mode even in the artist-patron relationship. Harris was a Southern writer working for his patrons in the Northern market. Henry Grady, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and Harris were advocating the Northern industrial system for the "New South," certainly a powerful kind of flattery, however sincere. Their program was, as Professor John Donald Wade has put it, to speak reverently of the past, but "to repudiate that past as rapidly as ever one might—with one exception, that the nigger be kept to his place."¹⁹ These two men played a large part in reconciling the North and South after the war. And, while flattering the North, they played upon the paradoxical Northern love of aristocracy and other vestiges of romantic feudalism in order to reconcile the North to the Southern solution of the Negro problem.²⁰ Mr. Buck writes that "the nostalgic Northerner could escape the wear and tear of expanding industry and growing cities and dwell in a Dixie of the storybooks which had become the Arcady of American tradition."²¹

Nights with Uncle Remus, with a subtitle *Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation*, can be studied as an example of a strategy for naming a situation in the South. In the process of naming this situation it falls into the pastoral tradition, which has often been used as a device for flattery, for consolation, for preserving the *status quo*, for implying a beautiful relationship between rich and poor, and for reconciliation.

The circumstances surrounding the writing and publication of the book help us to interpret it. After composing songs attributed to Uncle Remus for the *Constitution* in 1877, Harris began to write character sketches and animal stories centering around Uncle Remus. They appeared in 1878 and 1879.²² They were popular, and a Northern publisher brought them out in 1880 as *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings*. The great popularity continued; further stories began appearing in the *Atlanta Constitution* on May 22, 1881, and in *Scribner's Monthly* in June, 1881. These tales were gathered and published as *Nights with Uncle Remus* in 1883.²³

¹⁹ Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁰ See Gaines, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and Myrdal, *op. cit.*, II, 1375-1376.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

²² Julia Collier Harris, *Life and Letters*, p. 145.

²³ Wiggins, *op. cit.*, p. 438. There were six editions by 1904.

In the first book were sketches which sometimes put propaganda of various sorts into Uncle Remus's mouth. The direct propaganda had disappeared in the second book; it might fairly be called "pure" art.

Harris's attitude, his flattery of the North, during the period when he was writing the first Uncle Remus volumes, may be seen by comparing two versions of one sketch. One version appears in the *Constitution*, the other in *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings*.²⁴ The comparison will also serve to place the characters in *Nights with Uncle Remus*, for they are carried over to that book without much explanation. The *Constitution* version of October 14, 1877, bore the title "Uncle Remus as a Rebel," with the subhead "How He Saved His Young Master's Life."²⁵ In the book the title is softened to "A Story of the War." The crucial incident in the Southern newspaper version tells the story of how Remus saved the life of his young Marse Jeems. This trustworthy, contented slave was left with Ole Miss and Miss Sally to protect them while Marse Jeems skirmished with the Yankees in the region. While Uncle Remus was out looking after the stock, he saw a puff of smoke burst from the top of a tree. He "skearted roun'" and "slid up putty close" and saw a live Yankee picking off "de boys jes' as cool ez a cowcumber." While Uncle Remus was watching, Marse Jeems rode into range as he was coming home. The Yankee got his sight trained on Marse Jeems; Uncle Remus "disremembered all 'bout freedom" and shot the Yankee dead. "We had ter cut down de tree fer ter bury 'im."²⁶

In the book, published in the North, Uncle Remus tells the story in a different setting. The Yankee of the story has married Miss Sally. Uncle Remus is persuaded to tell the story to a Northern visitor in their Atlanta home. The Yankee has now become Marse John, and he and Miss Sally are the parents of the boy to whom the animal stories are told. For, in this version, the Yankee who is shot out of the tree loses, not his life, but one arm. Ole Miss and Miss Sally nurse him back to health. Miss Sally gets the conventional reward of a nurse—a loving husband. And, moreover, it is demonstrated that a Yankee is good enough to join the Southern aristoc-

²⁴ New York, 1922, pp. 201-212.

²⁵ Wiggins, *op. cit.*, pp. 170, 263.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-267.

racy; the North and the South are symbolically wed; and the North accepts the paternalistic pattern. Thus is the patron flattered and at the same time the self-respect of the South retained. Who is winning the war in this ironic twist?

When these characters reappear in *Nights with Uncle Remus*, their position is highly ambiguous. Marse John is the father of the boy to whom the tales are told; Ole Miss is dead; Miss Sally and Marse Jeems are in their place. But Uncle Remus is *owned* by Marse John and Miss Sally; the scene has been projected to a time before the war instead of after the war. Harris clearly states in his introduction that we must imagine the stories being "told to a little boy by a group of negroes on a plantation in Middle Georgia, before the war."²⁷ The mere existence of this ambiguity shows that the South (and presumably the Northern audience by this time) did not have much difficulty in projecting the romance of the Old South into the New South.

By excluding sketches and having the songs and sayings grow out of the plantation life, Harris achieves one element of unity in *Nights with Uncle Remus* which was absent in the first Uncle Remus volume. This book is further unified by having the stories told as the life on the plantation moves along from fall to the climax in a touching scene on Christmas Eve when the boy falls asleep and Uncle Remus tells him the final good night. Further, there is a courtship between two of the slaves which culminates in a marriage, also on the day before Christmas.

In the course of the book we see fully the class structure of the Old South as the Old South is pictured by the writers of the romantic plantation tradition. It seems to be largely this idealized picture which makes Professor Gaines write that Harris's main contribution to the plantation tradition "is a comprehensive and charming presentation of the romantic elements."²⁸ The white side of this society can best be pictured by a scene in the book when Uncle Remus is scolding the boy for copying some "Favers chillun":

"Ef you er gwine ter copy atter yuther folks, copy atter dem w'at's some 'count. Yo' pa [the Yankee in one version], he got de idee dat some folks is good ez yuther folks; but Miss Sally, she know better. She know

²⁷ *Nights with Uncle Remus*, p. xlii. Hereinafter referred to as *Nights*.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

dat dey aint no Favers 'pon de top side er de yeth w'at kin hol' der han' wid de Abercrombies in p'int er breedin' en raisin'."

These Favers are a low class of people, Uncle Remus goes on to say; "dey allers did hate niggers kase dey aint had none." But Jeems Abercrombie has protected his Negroes. He told Jim Favers that if he laid a hand on one of his Negroes "he'd slap a load er buck shot in 'im." Now, Uncle Remus concludes, "dey er monst'us per-lite unter me."²⁹

The essence of the fine, traveled aristocracy is distilled into one small capsule picture at the end of the book. The slaves at the home plantation are joined by those from the river plantation for the celebration of Christmas: the river slaves have greeted "Unk Remus" and "little Marster," and on Christmas Eve all the slaves join their voices to sing "a Christmas dance song."

The fine company of men and women at the big house—men and women who had made the tour of all the capitals of Europe—listened with swelling hearts and with tears in their eyes as the song rose and fell upon the air. . . .³⁰

This class of aristocrats represents in a sense the heroic side of a double plot.³¹ The masters of the slaves, like the kings and princes of Elizabethan drama, symbolize the whole of society. Prince Hal shows his common touch and representation of even the common people by his tavern roistering; the young master, the boy to whom the stories are told, shows the same thing by his love of the common life in Uncle Remus's cabin. And Miss Sally, the mistress, identifies herself with the lower class in a scene with almost mock-religious overtones. Uncle Remus tells the little boy about it. Miss Sally sent the Negroes out to find Remus. When he came to her, Uncle Remus continues:

"Miss Sally want Remus fer ter whirl in en cook 'er one er deze yer

²⁹ *Nights*, pp. 17-18.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 382-402.

³¹ William Empson (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31, 53) discusses a literary structure which partakes of both the pastoral tradition and the heroic tradition. The double plot, of the tragi-comic drama in particular, "is a sort of marriage of the myths of heroic and pastoral, a thing felt as fundamental to both and necessary to the health of society." Mr. Empson adds that "the comic characters are in a sense figures of pastoral myth so far as they make profound remarks and do things with unexpectedly great effects." Growing out of the irony and dramatic ambiguity of the double plot is "a process of putting the complex into the simple" like that in the pastoral.

ole-time ash-cakes. She bleedzd ter have it den en dar; en w'en I git it done, Miss Sally, she got a glass er buttermilk, en tuck'n sot right flat down on de flo', des like she useter w'en she wuz little gal."

And there she ate "a hunk er dat ash-cake mighty nigh ez big ez yo' head."³²

Thus we have the masters identified with the slaves and symbolizing all the good qualities of the whole society. The masters are not likely to be unkind and ill-disposed toward one side of their nature; in Harris's picture they are not unkind. This is what the North had not understood, but from Harris, the authority on the Negro, they came now to understand it. The situation is named, named in almost magical terms; and simply providing a name takes some of the obscure evil from the situation. The North, even without the direct propaganda which was used, can be made to tolerate, to acquiesce in, the situation presented in "pure" art. Later we shall see that "pure" humor also plays a part.

In the matter of the aristocracy, which falls into the heroic tradition, and in the idyllic picture of the contented slave, *Nights with Uncle Remus* is a romantic book, as Mr. Gaines implies.

But Professor John Herbert Nelson in his study, *The Negro Character in American Literature*, has written: "In depicting the negro Harris was, in his best work, a consistent realist."³³ Aside from the ambiguities involved in the terms *romantic* and *realistic*, I think that we have a complexity indicated here. To one part of the audience, the reading public, Harris is saying one thing, and to another part, something else. And Mr. Empson has pointed out that when this is going on in literature we are likely to have irony involved. The irony can grow out of a double plot structure in which the ruler symbolizing the people is found in the serious, heroic part of the plot, and the thing symbolized, the people, is found in the comic part. The comic part brings out the irony: "usually it provides a sort of parody or parallel in low life to the serious part."³⁴

Nights with Uncle Remus gets its "realism" and another level of significance by concentrating on the comic subplot. In the Negro class structure there is a parody of the white class structure; there is, on another level, in the tales which are told, even a mockery of

³² *Nights*, p. 29.

³³ P. 111.

³⁴ Empson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

the whites: Brer Rabbit tricks, fools, and triumphs over Mr. Mar. (Brer Rabbit is, of course, a Negro.) The parody, the joke, and the rest of the humor help to win acceptance for the whole picture, including the aristocracy. The reader does his laughing at the pretensions of the aristocracy while he is reading and gets it out of his system: it is a comic catharsis.

The parody of white class structure in *Nights with Uncle Remus* looks something like this. Uncle Remus represents the upper class. He was the leader of the slaves:

He had always exercised authority over his fellow-servants. He had been the captain of the corn-pile, the stoutest at the log-rolling, the swiftest with the hoe, the neatest with the plough, and the plantation hands still looked upon him as their leader.³⁵

He is the master.

"Sis" Tempy, to the Negroes, or "Aunt" Tempy, to the whites, is the mistress. Harris writes that she was "a woman of large authority on the place," standing next to Uncle Remus in authority and in the confidence reposed in her. Furthermore:

She never hesitated to exercise her authority, and the younger negroes on the place regarded her as a tyrant; but in spite of her loud voice and brusque manners she was thoroughly good-natured, usually good-humored, and always trustworthy.

Some conclusions about the relation between white master and mistress might even be drawn from the fact that Uncle Remus and Aunt Tempy "were secretly jealous of each other."³⁶

Coming down the scale from these two are "Tildy, the house-girl, and old Daddy Jack. The other Negroes, who are led by the aristocrats, make up the great body of the middle class. Finally, at the lowest level, are found certain "low-life niggers"³⁷ who correspond to the low-bred Favens family among the whites. We see a "parallel civilization" among the Negroes.

When we turn to the mockery of the white man, the jokes played on the white man in the tales told by the Negroes, we see another level of significance. Joel Chandler Harris had great sympathy for the Negro; he came late to a position of influence and

³⁵ *Nights*, p. 400.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

was always a shy, kindly man. As a child growing up on a plantation he found companionship with the Negroes, and they told him many of the tales he has put into literary form. His illegitimacy may have set him apart somewhat from other white men and forced him into an even closer companionship with the Negroes.³⁸ At any rate, we may say that in many ways Harris is Uncle Remus in his books, while at the same time he is the white boy to whom the tales are told. Harris carries into the tales the Negro view of life, for, in addition to Harris's sympathy, the tales themselves have the authentic folk pattern of the Negro folklore.

In the tales, therefore, we see the Negro naming *his* situation, just as the white man is naming his. The Negro is explaining and compensating for his inferiority.³⁹ Mr. B. A. Botkin quotes Mr. Peter Haworth to explain this aspect of Negro animal tales. They "project the 'compensatory dreams of the subject races and serf-populations.'" In them the weak customarily triumph over the strong. The Negro, more than other minority groups, "has made this symbolism his own and a vehicle for his philosophy."⁴⁰

This ironic twist runs through most of the tales in *Nights with Uncle Remus*. Perhaps its baldest form is found in "Mr. Man Has Some Meat"⁴¹ and "Brother Rabbit Outdoes Mr. Man."⁴² The first tale is told immediately after the white boy has laughed at Uncle Remus because of his comical appearance as he sharpens his shoe-knife. When the boy laughs, Uncle Remus stops his work and his "mumbly-song" with the observation that he is resigned to having people laugh at him in his old age. The boy changes the subject to Brer Rabbit, and Uncle Remus forgets his ill-humor and tells the tale of how Brer Rabbit (the symbolic Negro) gets the meat of Mr.

³⁸ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

³⁹ Miss Dorothy Dondore writes: "In spite of the dreams of optimists and philosophers that in the western hemisphere the mistakes of ancient civilization might be avoided . . . , so unequal have been the lots of mankind . . . , that it is not surprising that we find the so-called under-privileged classes attempting to explain the inequalities of their lot in much the same way their forebears had for centuries in . . . Europe." The "Children of Eve" story is an explanation of the inequalities. It is found in the "Fifth Eclogue" of the sixteenth-century pastoral poet Alexander Barclay. Neatly enough for my purpose here, the story comes into Negro legend to explain the difference between blacks and whites ("The Children of Eve in America: Migration of an Ancient Legend," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, III, 223-229, December, 1939).

⁴⁰ *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York [1944]), p. 652.

⁴¹ *Nights*, pp. 123-127.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 306-311.

Man (the symbolic white man). Briefly, the story tells of how Brer Rabbit meets Mr. Man carrying a piece of meat home along the road. Brer Rabbit walks along beside him and begins "snuffin' de a'r." He tells Mr. Man that he smells something that doesn't "smell like ripe peaches." After Mr. Man is finally convinced that his meat is bad, Brer Rabbit tells him that dragging it in the dust will restore its freshness. Brer Rabbit gets a long line; the man drags the meat through the dust behind him. Brer Rabbit stays behind with the meat to brush the flies off. "Here Uncle Remus was compelled to pause and laugh before he could proceed with the story."⁴³ While the man is not looking back Brer Rabbit substitutes a rock for the meat and runs off with the meat. The boy thinks a minute, then says, "Uncle Remus, wasn't that stealing?" Uncle Remus responds "with the air of one who is willing to compromise": "In dem days de creeturs bleedz ter look out fer deyse'f, mo' speshually dem w'at aint got hawn en huff. Brer Rabbit aint got no hawn en huff, en he bleedz ter be he own lawyer."⁴⁴ Mr. Empson has said that in the realistic pastoral "so far as he [the person described] is forced . . . into crime he is the judge of the society that judges him."⁴⁵

Again in "Brother Rabbit Outdoes Mr. Man" Uncle Remus restores his own self-respect by telling a story. He says that there is always a great to-do when he wants to go somewhere: "' . . . en ef I aint back at de ve'y minit, dars Mars John a-growlin', en Miss Sally a-vowin' dat she gwine ter put me on de block.'⁴⁶ The boy failed to soothe the old man; so "the old man quickly changed the subject" to Brer Rabbit. Mr. Man is riding along the road with a wagon full of money this time. When Uncle Remus must explain how the man got the money, we have a direct judgment of society: "Mr. Man got w'at lots er folks aint got,—good luck, long head, quick eye, en slick fingers. But no marter 'bout dat, he got de money; en w'en you sorter grow up so you kin knock 'roun', 'twon't be long 'fo' some un'll take en take you off 'roun' de cornder en tell you dat 't aint make no diffunce whar de money come fum so de man got it. Dey won't tell you dat in de meeting-house, but dey'll come mighty nigh it."⁴⁷

In the story Brother Rabbit contrived to get the money by throwing it off the wagon and making a noise when it hit the ground so that

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴⁵ *Nights*, p. 307.

the man would not hear it. He got the money, "en hit's mighty kuse ter me dat he aint git de waggin en hosses."⁴⁸

Whether or not he realized it, Harris, by his divided sympathies, is presenting both sides of an argument. His direct propaganda in other places shows that, intellectually and as a reasonable man, he places himself with the whites, where, of course, he has emotional ties also. But he also believes in democracy, is drawn to the underdog, has emotional ties with the Negro, and, moreover, is using the Negro folk material. One way to reconcile such divided sympathies is by means of the irony which we have in this book. The reader sees both sides, or the one side that he wants to see. Alexander H. Stephens, former Vice-President of the Confederacy, could thoroughly approve of Uncle Remus.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Negro critic may also approve of much of Uncle Remus (until he begins direct propaganda).⁵⁰ In any event these levels of significance make for a great density in *Nights with Uncle Remus*; in this respect, at least, it becomes like *Alice in Wonderland*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and other "children's books."

In the stories of the symbolic triumph of the Negro the strategy is one for vengeance. From another point of view the comic characters illustrate other strategies: the strategies of consolation and reconciliation involved in humor. Even though Uncle Remus has cautioned us that there is more than simply "fun, fun, fun" in the tales, the fact remains that the tone of the book is dominantly humorous. Uncle Remus, Sis Tempy, Daddy Jack, "Tildy—all the Negroes, are humorous, whatever other elements they contain. And Brer Rabbit is a comic little fellow. We have seen part of the function of the ironic comedy, but we must look at the humor from another point of view.⁵¹

The Negro is, of course, a standard subject for humor. Mr.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁴⁹ Julia Collier Harris, *Life and Letters*, p. 165.

⁵⁰ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵¹ In considering the subject of art and propaganda, Mr. Burke writes that "pure" art promotes "a state of acceptance" of the existing social order. But, more to the point for our purposes here, "pure" humor performs the same function. "Pure humor is not protestant but acquiescent." We are able to humanize our dilemmas: "A good humorist does not want to 'make us go out and do something about it.' Rather, he makes us feel, 'Well, things may not be so bad after all. It all depends on how you look at them.'" The great value of pure or acquiescent art is that it helps man to live in and "tolerate" a social order which he may not like (*op. cit.*, pp. 320-321).

Sterling A. Brown has pointed out that one of the most important stereotypes of the Negro is "The Comic Negro."⁵² Humorous stories and jokes are a way of release when people are troubled. The function of humor for both whites and Negroes has been commented on by Mr. Myrdal:

[Humor] . . . usually conveys a notion that we are all sinners before the Lord. When people are up against great inconsistencies in their creed and behavior which they cannot, or do not want to, account for rationally, humor is a way out.

The "understanding laugh" helps to make all men brothers. Humor performs a function in creating a "collective surreptitious approbation for something which cannot be approved explicitly because of moral inhibitions." Negro humor "proves" the inferiority of the Negro from the white point of view. Antiwhite humor among the Negroes makes the whites ridiculous, a form of compensation. "Partly it is a mechanism of psychological adjustment; they 'laugh off' their misfortunes, their faults, their inferiority."⁵³

One hardly needs to dwell on the fact that the white can find a humorous Negro in the tales of Uncle Remus, for it is well known that humor is everywhere in *Nights with Uncle Remus* and the other volumes. In the *Nights* it is strikingly used to show the inferiority of the Negro in the love story of young "Tildy and old Daddy Jack, where even the tender passion becomes grotesquely funny. One scene will suffice to show the tone.

Uncle Remus advised Daddy Jack to be more aggressive in his courtship:

"Man want gal, he des got ter grab 'er—dat's w'at. Dey may squall en dey may flutter, but flutter'n' en squallin' aint done no damage yit ez I knows un, en 't aint gwine ter."

Daddy Jack immediately went in pursuit, and soon after "Tildy burst into the cabin:

"Tildy flung herself upon the floor and rolled and laughed until, apparently, she could laugh no more. Then she seemed to grow severely an-

⁵² "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," *Journal of Negro Education*, II, 180 (April, 1933). But, "The humor of Uncle Remus is nearer to genuine folk-humor, which—it might be said in passing—is *not* the same as the 'comic Negro' humor" (p. 189).

⁵³ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, I, 38-39.

gry. She arose from the floor and flopped herself down in a chair, and glared at Uncle Remus with indignation in her eyes.⁵⁴

Surely this "pure" humor will not "make us go out and do something about" these happy children. We will tolerate the existing situation.

Brer Rabbit's jokes on Mr. Man, discussed earlier, show the Negro having his joke. We remember that Uncle Remus was forced to stop and laugh even before he reached the climax in one story.

But there are other feelings and attitudes, other ironies, another level of significance, more directly connected with Mr. Empson's pastoral, to be found in the comic characters of *Nights with Uncle Remus*. We have seen these aspects of the pastoral: the artist-patron relationship, the implied beautiful relationship between the rich and the poor, the parody in the comic subplot, and the judgment of society, implied or explicit. Mr. Empson has also shown the reversal of values which often takes place in the pastoral: the last in society become first. The "worthy but ridiculous" clown has "better 'sense' than his betters"; he is close to nature, wise, able to speak out because he has nothing to lose.⁵⁵

Again both Uncle Remus and the Negroes and Brer Rabbit show this part of the pastoral myth working. Even though Uncle Remus is funny, he is shown to have "good sense." Harris calls him one of "the humble philosophers of the old plantation."⁵⁶ We have seen him giving advice to the boy on the ways of the world. And throughout the book he relays the lore of nature to the boy. Many of the tales illustrate a particular moral or proverb; some bring out philosophical comments by Remus, such as this on *hubris*:

"Folks kin come 'long wid der watchyermaycollums . . . en likewise dey kin fetch 'roun' der watziznames. Dey kin walk biggity en dey kin talk biggity, en, mo'n dat, dey kin feel biggity, but yit all de same deyer gwine ter git kotch up wid. Dey go 'long en dey go 'long, en den bimeby yer come trouble en snatch um slonchways, en de mo' bigger w'at dey is, de wusser does dey git snatched."⁵⁷

But there is more than this primitivism, which is akin to the more or less rational primitivism of the Enlightenment, involved

⁵⁴ *Nights*, pp. 137-138.

⁵⁵ *Nights*, p. 28.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

even in the character of Uncle Remus. Magical and religious feelings come to be invoked. These feelings grow out of a common attitude toward the Negro. That deity, the Devil, is humorous in a way: Devil and Vice in early English drama came to be clowns. Even Falstaff seems to be a lineal descendant of the old Vice. And the humorous Negro, black and superstitious, comes to be identified in irrational ways with the Devil or his minions. Mr. Myrdal comments: "As the devil with his goat's foot is earth-bound in a sinister sense, so the Negro is also more part of 'nature' than the white man." The theologians of the Old South went so far as to make this an explicit idea. The Negro had more of original sin in his make-up than the white man.⁵⁸ Dr. A. S. Cartwright in 1860 said "that the serpent which tempted Eve in the Garden of Eden was a Negro."⁵⁹

Uncle Remus in the *Nights* is connected with this feeling, though less than Daddy Jack and Brer Rabbit. Uncle Remus is too much the kindly old "Uncle" to have many sinister overtones. Yet he does leave the boy in doubt about his relations with the old Witch-Rabbit, Mammy-Bammy Big-Money.

"Uncle Remus, did you ever see Mammy-Bammy Big-Money?" the boy asks. The old Negro is reticent and evasive: he is getting old; his remembrance is slack; he might have, but she disappeared mighty quick. "The result . . . was that the child didn't know whether Uncle Remus had seen the Witch-Rabbit or not. . . ." But the boy suspected that he had.⁶⁰

Daddy Jack is more specifically connected with the devil and black magic. When this eighty-year-old Negro is first introduced in the book, the child views him with much curiosity. He has been told that Daddy Jack, who had been born in Africa, was "a wizard, a conjurer, and a snake-charmer." The boy relied on Uncle Remus to protect him from Daddy Jack's witchcraft.⁶¹ In "Spirits, Seen and Unseen" Daddy Jack gives an authoritative discussion of spirits and is almost betrayed into admitting that he is a witch.⁶²

That picaresque clown, Brer Rabbit, knows more than any of

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 101.

⁵⁹ C. H. Wesley, "The Concept of Negro Inferiority in American Thought," *Journal of Negro History*, XXV, 552-553 (October, 1940).

⁶⁰ *Nights*, pp. 208-209.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 154-160.

the others about these matters: he is on good terms with Mammy-Bammy Big-Money; he knows the right trail to follow, the proper incantations to use in calling up spirits. It is in Brer Rabbit that we see most clearly the reversal of values so often a part of pastoral. The pastoral is one of the important processes of "putting the complex into the simple."⁶³ And here, certainly, in Brer Rabbit we have the complex put into the simple. An animal, a rustic, a clown, a jester, a scapegoat is almost deified.⁶⁴ At the very least, Brer Rabbit has a priestly function.

An explanation of the clown's function in primitive society will help to explain this process as it is found in Brer Rabbit. Miss Lucile Hoerr Charles, writing on the function of the clown, summarizes and interprets material found in the Cross-Cultural Survey of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University.⁶⁵ After a summary of the activities of clowns in various primitive societies (with a mention of Brer Rabbit in one of the societies),⁶⁶ her interpretation begins: "Apparently a clown is concerned always with something which is not quite proper; with something embarrassing, astonishing, shocking, but not too much so. This fact appears to be a constant at all times and in all places." The clown handles the tabooed thing; he goes through a ritual of impersonation. But he never completely identifies himself with the taboo, for the fun would then become disgusting. The audience or the readers imaginatively identify themselves with the clown, and the clown becomes a priest "performing a rite," both in his own and in the audience's behalf.⁶⁷

Miss Charles explains what the rite is: "It is the locating, naming, bringing to a head, and expressing of a psychological element which has been causing trouble in the unconscious. . . ." The laughter which results from the clown's activities expresses the sudden pleasure of release from trouble as the suppressed element is restored. The element neglected or repressed is "the humdrum, humble, everyday, earthy side of life." It is thus the function of the

⁶³ Empson, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶⁴ "*Piers Plowman* is the most direct case of the pastoral figure who turns slowly into Christ and ruler" (Empson, *op. cit.*, p. 86).

⁶⁵ "The Clown's Function," *Journal of American Folklore*, LVIII, 25-34 (January-March, 1945).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

clown to restore the earthy part of man's nature. "Earthiness, poverty, renegade irresponsibility, irreverence and license of all sorts—these are the constant elements in clowning."⁶⁸ Everything about the clown expresses this purpose. He uses a "dirty, bizarre, mud makeup," stylized in the white greasepaint of the circus clown today. And it is a significant fact that the mud for the clown is taken from a sacred lake in one society; some of the clowns are called Mudheads. This

shows the close relation between the profane and the sacred; shows the vitalizing, religious value of bringing a neglected element back into the conscious life of the people; demonstrates the close kinship of Mudhead and Godhead. Anything which so much needs to be done, in order that life may be fully lived, becomes sacred in character. The devil is a necessary and most valuable god.

Thus we have the many names for and types of clown: Devil, Vice, Rustic, Scapegoat, and so on. This same function runs through all types of expression: "humorous story, folktale, literature, joking relationship, cartoon, clown."⁶⁹

Clown Brer Rabbit's priestly functions are seen most clearly in his communications with Mammy-Bammy Big-Money, who is probably close to the sacred rabbit of African mythology (about whom Harris speaks).⁷⁰ It is implied that Brother Riley Rabbit is licensed and gets his power (symbolic power for the Negro) from the Witch-Rabbit. Uncle Remus tells how one must go to find Mammy-Bammy Big-Money:

"She live way off in a deep, dark swamp, en ef you go dar you hatter ride some, slide some; jump some, hump some; hop some, flop some; walk some, balk some; creep some, sleep some; fly some, cry some; foller some, holler some; wade some, spade some; en ef you aint monst'us keerful you aint git dar den."⁷¹

Even Brer Rabbit is "mighty nigh wo' out" when he gets there. Once there, Big-Money appears through the smoke of her hole and Brer Rabbit gets advice and power, and even, once, the personal presence of the Witch-Rabbit to play a trick on Brother Wolf.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁰ *Nights*, p. 168.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 208-214.

One time, however, Big-Money refuses to give Brer Rabbit any more "sense" than he already has. She submits him to a series of tests which he performs successfully. She explains: "Ef you git any mo' sense, Son Riley, you'll be de ruination ev de whole settlement, Son Riley Rabbit, Riley."⁷³

In another story Brer Rabbit is a godlike hero without Big-Money's direct intervention. In "The Origin of the Ocean" we learn that it was Brer Rabbit who created the ocean. He cut the string which held the banks of a creek together, and the banks fell back and fell back until there was an ocean between them.⁷⁴

Even as a lawless trickster Brer Rabbit shows his connection with the godlike hero who is too great to be required to obey the laws. Brer Rabbit is, ironically, too lowly and, at the same time, too great to be subject to the ordinary standards of morality. He is able to break through the ordinary structure of society; he is the hero who must be partly outside morality and the ordinary class divisions in order to mediate between the group and a god—or a Witch Rabbit. The hero or mock hero helps to create a unity in a class society. Mr. Empson writes:

Clearly it is important for a nation with a strong class-system to have an art-form that not merely evades but breaks through it, that makes the classes feel part of a larger unity or simply at home with each other.⁷⁵

By evading and breaking through the class system Brer Rabbit makes the Negro "feel part of a larger unity." Not only in the heroic-pastoral combination of Brer Rabbit but also in the Uncle Remus book as a whole the classes are made to feel "at home with each other."

Furthermore, Brer Rabbit, on one level, is a clown handling the shocking, tabooed matter of exacting vengeance on the white masters in behalf of the Negro. He is giving the point of view of the Negro; he is naming the Negro's situation. In doing this Brer Rabbit moves up to another plane. As the Negro imaginatively identifies himself with Brer Rabbit, Brer Rabbit becomes a priest per-

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-339. It is interesting to note that "the rabbit . . . is the hero-god, trickster, and wonder-worker of all the [Indian] tribes east of the Mississippi" (James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1897-1898, Washington, 1900, p. 232).

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

forming a rite: he is the godlike hero-clown. The black, Mudhead clown shows his close kinship to Godhead.

On the level of significance having to do with Harris as a white Southerner speaking to the North, Joel Chandler Harris is the clown handling the tabooed Negro problem. On another level, Uncle Remus is a clown. He is restoring a consciousness of earthiness to the whites, especially to the Northern whites living in an abstract industrial civilization.

We see that there is powerful magic or "medicine" that a "medicine man" can draw upon in using the pastoral strategy for naming situations.

In *Nights with Uncle Remus* the several levels of significance have permitted each group to name its situation. The Negro has named his, mainly through Brer Rabbit in the tales. Harris and the South have named their situation. Joel Chandler Harris, that kindly clown, has handled the tabooed Negro problem in order to restore health to the mind and conscience of the North and the South. Everyone has his consolation: "pure" humor wins acceptance for the existing class harmony. Everyone "may smile, and smile, and be a villain."

A CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF SAMUEL CLEMENS TO JUNE 8, 1867

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THE APPENDED CHECK LIST attempts to furnish a guide for a consecutive reading of Samuel Clemens's journalism and personal letters written over a span of eighteen apprenticeship years. It provides a chronology of Clemens's known writings up to June 8, 1867—the date of his sailing on the *Quaker City*—and a record of their accessibility.

All entries are grouped chronologically, both under the year of writing and under seven divisions which correspond to the seven major regions of Clemens's literary and professional activity during this period: (1) Hannibal, (2) the East and Midwest, (3) the Mississippi River, (4) Washoe, (5) California, (6) the Sandwich Islands, and (7) New York City.

Since the dates of composition usually are not known, the most reliable basis of arrangement for entries printed coincident with the time of writing is the date of first publication. Variations from this procedure have been made, however, in order to reflect more accurately the sequence of composition. For some pieces a lapse of weeks or months between the date of writing and the date of publication has called for a compensating adjustment in the order of arrangement. Moreover, when the date of publication is unknown, the place of entry has been fixed solely by the date of writing, if known. When neither the date of composition nor the date of first publication is known, any other obtainable evidence—often tenuous and indecisive—has been used to determine the sequence. A few elusive writings, resisting attempts at definite dating, have been listed at the end of the year in which the compiler judges them to have been written.

For those pieces of writing (including most of Clemens's personal letters) not published concurrently with the time of writing, the basis of arrangement is the date of composition, in some cases

approximated only. It has been impracticable, however, to make separate entries of Clemens's dated notebook jottings; instead, these are grouped and listed as the initial or final entry under the appropriate division of the bibliography.

The check list records, so far as the facts are known to the compiler, four types of information: (1) the title of original publication, (2) relevant information supplied by the compiler, (3) the place and date of original publication, and (4) the most generally accessible reprint.

(1) *Original Title.* No attempt has been made to reproduce the typography of a newspaper or periodical title; but an attempt has been made to follow the wording and punctuation used in the title of the original published version, or, lacking the original, in the title of the earliest extant reprint. Employment of lower case indicates the lack of any published, or known, title and represents the compiler's description of the published piece. On the other hand, the use of upper case throughout signifies the reproduction of the earliest extant title. However, parts of published titles which denote correspondence to, or special composition for, a newspaper or periodical have been omitted from the recorded title, except when that information is the only heading of the original version. Likewise, the caption "Mark Twain," sometimes used by editors to identify Clemens's published contributions, has not been included in the recorded title if it stands alone in the original. Explanatory subtitles have been incorporated with the main title only if their inclusion seems to be an aid either to the identification of the entry or to a desirable clarification of its contents. Subheadings within the body of the published piece have been listed, except for those in the Sandwich Island Letters and the American Travel Letters, Series 1. When it has been necessary to choose between Clemens's own title and that supplied by an editor, preference has been given to the former. All of Clemens's personal letters not intended for publication have been entered under "Letter," followed by a description. Only the initial delivery of a lecture has been listed. Finally, it will be noticed that a few unlocated—and, occasionally, unpublished—writings have been included. These entries are known only by generalized description, by fragmentary quotation, or by possibly unfounded attribution.

(2) *Compiler's Information.* Square brackets following the title enclose information helpful in establishing the identification, chronology, authorship, and, at times, the genre of the entry. Here it is necessary to specify merely that dates of writing, if known, have always been given and that all pseudonyms except "Mark Twain" have been listed. Two asterisks prefixed to a title indicate that Clemens's authorship is not conclusively established for the entry in question, but that, in the opinion of the compiler or of other investigators (but not necessarily both), a not improbable case for authenticity can be made. One asterisk prefixed to a title signifies, in the compiler's opinion, a high degree of probability for Clemens's authorship. Entries signed with the usually accepted pseudonyms have not been starred. A few pieces, attributed to Clemens in the past, have been omitted from the list as unauthentic, for reasons which the compiler takes to be conclusive. But the prevailing tendency has been to include rather than to exclude.

(3) *Place and Date of Original Publication.* This information, when known, is to be found immediately below the title entry and the compiler's remarks. Many articles are extant only as reprints. In such cases, when the place but not the date of first publication is known, the name and date of the reprint publication have been given, and note has been made of the place of original appearance. If both the date and place of first printing are known, however, that date and that place have been listed, even though the entry is extant only as a reprint. Newspaper locations and frequencies of issue have been recorded if confusion was thereby lessened. Newspaper and periodical volume numbers have been given except when unobtainable by the compiler.

(4) *Accessible Reprints.* Parentheses below the place and date of first publication enclose references to the most generally available reprint, usually to be found in a book or in a more recent periodical. No attempt has been made to list all reprintings. Nor have first book-printings been listed unless they happen to be also the most accessible reprints. The absence of parenthetical material signifies that, to the compiler's knowledge, the piece has not been republished either at all or in any form more accessible than the original printing. Page numbers of reprints that appear in Clemens's collected works, including the *Letters* and Paine's biography

("Paine"), refer to the Definitive edition of *The Works of Mark Twain* (New York: Gabriel Wells, 1922-1925). *The Jumping Frog* denotes Clemens's first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, and Other Sketches* (New York: C. H. Webb, 1867). Other author and title symbols are identified below.

In the preparation of this list, the compiler has relied upon sources too numerous for individual mention here. He is grateful for the information supplied by many librarians and, especially, for the help of George Hiram Brownell, Fred W. Lorch, and Bernard DeVoto. The errors, whether of fact or judgment, are attributable, of course, to the compiler alone.

Key to Abbreviations

Angel	Angel, Myron (ed.). <i>History of Nevada</i> . Oakland, Cal.: Thompson and West, 1881.
Benson	Benson, Ivan. <i>Mark Twain's Western Years</i> . Stanford University Press, 1938.
Branch	Branch, Edgar M. (ed.). <i>Mark Twain's Letters in the Muscatine Journal</i> . Chicago: The Mark Twain Association of America, 1942.
Brashear	Brashear, Minnie M. <i>Mark Twain Son of Missouri</i> . Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1934.
Dane	Dane, G. Ezra (ed.). <i>Letters from the Sandwich Islands</i> . San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1937.
DeVoto	DeVoto, Bernard (ed.). <i>Mark Twain in Eruption</i> . New York, Harper and Bros., 1940.
Frear	Frear, Walter. <i>Mark Twain and Hawaii</i> . Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1946.
Honce	Honce, Charles (ed.). <i>The Adventures of Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass</i> . Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1928.
Hornberger	Hornberger, Theodore (ed.). <i>Mark Twain's Letters to Will Bowen</i> . Austin: The University of Texas, 1941.
Howell	Howell, John (ed.). <i>Sketches of the Sixties</i> . 2d ed. enlarged. San Francisco: John Howell, 1927.
Lillard	Lillard, Richard G. "Studies in Washoe Journalism and Humor." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1943.

- Lyman Lyman, George D. *The Saga of the Comstock Lode*.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.
- Meine Meine, Franklin J. (ed.). *Tall Tales of the Southwest*.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.
- Nickerson Nickerson, Thomas (ed.). *Letters from Honolulu*. Hono-
lulu: Thomas Nickerson, 1939.
- Notebook Paine, Albert B. (ed.). *Mark Twain's Notebook*. New
York: Harper and Bros., 1935.
- Phillips Phillips, Catherine C. *Cornelius Cole*. San Francisco:
John H. Nash, 1929.
- Rabb Rabb, Kate Milnor (ed.). *Wit and Humor of America*.
Vol. 5. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1907.
- Scrap Book "Mark Twain's Scrap Book." In the Yale University
Library.
- Walker Walker, Franklin (ed.). *The Washoe Giant in San
Francisco*. San Francisco: George Fields, 1938.
- Walker-Dane Walker, Franklin, and Dane, G. Ezra (eds.). *Mark
Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown*. New York: Alfred
A. Knopf, 1940.

HANNIBAL

1849

- **Two comic verses. ["Amalgamation here we view, . . ." and "Abigail Brown, with a span new gown. . . ." These accompany two marriage announcements, with a note acknowledging the printer to have been "duly remembered." Published at a time when Clemens presumably was printer's devil on Joseph P. Ament's *Courier*.]
Missouri Courier, v. 2, Dec. 6.

1850

- **Humorous comment upon the excellence of a wedding cake. [Signed "Devil." Published in Orion Clemens's first Hannibal newspaper, on which Samuel Clemens may have been a typesetter at this time.]
Western Union, v. 1, Nov. 14.

1851

- **Two anecdotes. [Not located. Said by Paine to have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia), in 1851; possibly published,

if at all, as early as 1848 or 1849 in the *Saturday Evening Post* (St. Louis).]

(Mentioned by Paine, 90; 1674.)

1852

*Woodcuts illustrating "Familiar Letter on Art." [This piece, by Miss Jerusha Prym, is a reprint from the *Carpet-Bag*, v. 1, Jan. 17, 1852. The illustrations are copied, with alterations, from the originals in the *Carpet-Bag*, and are strikingly similar to Clemens's woodcuts appearing in later issues of the *Hannibal Journal*.]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal (and Union)*, v. 2, Mar. 4.

THE DANDY FRIGHTENING THE SQUATTER. [Signed "S.L.C."]

Carpet-Bag, v. 1, May 1.

(Meine, 447-448.)

**Paragraph on a military company formed by town boys. [A "local" news item with a reference to the *Carpet-Bag*, in which Clemens already had published "The Dandy Frightening the Squatter."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal (and Union)*, v. 2, July 15.

A FAMILY MUSS. [Signed "W. Epaminondas Adrastus Perkins."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 9.

"LOCAL" RESOLVES TO COMMIT SUICIDE. [Signed "A Dog-be-Develed Citizen."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 16.

(Brashear, 113.)

HISTORICAL EXHIBITION—A NO. 1 RUSE. [Signed "W. Epaminondas Blab."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 16.

(*Mark Twain Quarterly*, v. 4: 18-19, 24, Fall-Winter, 1940-1941.)

EDITORIAL AGILITY. [Signed "W.E.A.B."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 16.

BLABBING GOVERNMENT SECRETS! [Signed "W.E.A.B."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 16.

(Brashear, 117-118, in part.)

"PICTUR" DEPARTMENT.

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 23.

(Brashear, 113-114.)

Letter to "Mr. Editor:" [Signed "A Dog-be-Develed Citizen."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 23.

(Brashear, 114.)

FOR THE JOURNAL. [Letter to "Mr. Editor:" signed "W. Epaminondas Adrastus Blab."]

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Sept. 23.
(Brashear, 119.)

*CONNUBIAL BLISS.

Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, Nov. 4.

1853

**ON MISS ANNA BREAD. [Comic verse, unsigned.]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, Apr. 16.

FOR THE DAILY JOURNAL. [News item about a stage coach accident, signed "Rambler."]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, Apr. 29.
(Hannibal *Courier-Post*, v. 90, Mar. 28, 1930.)

News item about two stolen hams. [Signed "Rambler."]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, Apr. 29.
(Hannibal *Courier-Post*, v. 90, Mar. 28, 1930.)

THE HEART'S LAMENT. TO BETTIE W—E, OF TENNESSEE.

[Poem, signed "Rambler."]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 5.
(Hannibal *Courier-Post*, v. 90, Mar. 28, 1930; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 24: 493, July, 1930.)

LOVE CONCEALED. TO MISS KATIE OF H—L. [Poem, dated

Hannibal, May 4, 1853, signed "Rambler."]
Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 6.
(Brashear, 121.)

*Note in editorial column. [Beginning: "The Editor left yesterday. . . ."]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 6.
(*American Literature*, v. 2: 40, Mar., 1930.)

*Headline hoax. [Beginning: "Terrible Accident!"]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 6.

**Two paragraphs ridiculing Abner Gilstrap.

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 6.

Letter to "Mr. Editor:" [Signed "Grumbler."]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 7.
(Brashear, 122.)

**Comic verse. [Accompanying a marriage notice beginning: "Married in Podunk. . . ."]

Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 7.
(Brashear, 146.)

- FOR THE DAILY JOURNAL. [Letter signed "Rambler."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 9.
 (Brashear, 122-123.)
- **Nonsense riddle. [Making a bid for subscription remittances.]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 9.
- TO RAMBLER. [Letter signed "Grumbler."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 10.
 (Brashear, 123.)
- FOR THE DAILY JOURNAL. [Letter signed "Peter Pencilcase's Son,
 John Snooks."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 12.
 (Brashear, 123-124.)
- **Article about a drunken spree on the ferry boat. [Signed "J."]
 Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, May 12.
- **INCREASE OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND FOR 1853.
 Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, May 12.
- SEPARATION. [Poem signed "Rambler."]
 Missouri *Courier*, v. 5, May 12.
- FOR THE DAILY JOURNAL. [Letter signed "Rambler."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 13.
 (Brashear, 124.)
- OH, SHE HAS A RED HEAD. [Signed "A Son of Adam."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 13.
 (Brashear, 127-128, in part.)
- **Editorial note. [About "Rambler and his enemies."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 13.
 (Brashear, 125.)
- **Two short editorials on Abner Gilstrap.
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 13.
- **Editorial note praising "Oh, She Has a Red Head."
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 13.
 (Brashear, 127.)
- News item about steamboat arrivals. [Signed "Rambler."]
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 14.
- **Editorial comment on Abner Gilstrap.
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 20.
 (Brashear, 137.)
- OUR ASSISTANT'S COLUMN.
 Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 23.
 (Brashear, 129-131.)

THE BURIAL OF SIR ABNER GILSTRAP, EDITOR OF THE BLOOMINGTON REPUBLICAN. PARODY ON "THE BURIAL OF SIR JOHN MOORE." [Included in "Our Assistant's Column" for May 23, and prefaced by a short explanatory note.]
Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 23.
(Brashear, 138-139.)

OUR ASSISTANT'S COLUMN.
Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 25.
(Brashear, 131-133.)

OUR ASSISTANT'S COLUMN.
Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, May 26.
(Brashear, 133-135.)

*FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 27, 1853. [Digests of three news reports, presumably from other papers, in the manner of Clemens's "Our Assistant's Column." This entry and the following three are captioned and set up like the reprints from "Our Assistant's Column," which also appear in the issue of June 2.]
Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, June 2.

*SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 28, 1853. [One enigma and two bits of news.]
Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, June 2.

*MONDAY EVENING, MAY 30, 1853. SMALL POX GONE. [A direct continuation of Clemens's news report in his column of May 23.]
Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, June 2.

*TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 31, 1853. [Four "local" news items.]
Hannibal (weekly) *Journal*, v. 10, June 2.

THE EAST AND MIDWEST

1853

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from New York, Aug. 24.]
Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, Sept. 5, as "Letter from New York."
(Brashear, 153-155.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from New York, Aug. 31.]
Hannibal (daily) *Journal*, v. 1, Sept. 10.
(Brashear, 155-157.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from New York, n. d.]
(*Letters*, 21-22, a fragment.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from New York, Oct., Saturday.]
(*Letters*, 23-25, in part; Paine, 97, in part; the mutilated original in the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Philadelphia, Oct. 26.]

Muscatine (weekly) *Journal*, v. 5, Nov. 11, as "From Philadelphia."
(*Letters*, 25-28; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, v. 27: 410-413,
July, 1929. Each reference prints parts not included in the other.
The latter reprints the *Journal* version.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Philadelphia, Nov. 28.]
(*Letters*, 29.)

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE. [Letter for publication from
Philadelphia, Dec. 4, signed "W."]
Muscatine (weekly) *Journal*, v. 5, Dec. 16.
(Branch, 12-14)

Letter. [To Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Philadelphia, Dec. 5.]
(*Letters*, 30.)

CORRESPONDENCE. THE WEATHER—FIRE AND LOSS OF
LIFE—CHRISTMAS PREPARATIONS—"CHEW'S HOUSE"—
LYDIA DARRAH'S HOUSE—THE OLD "SLATE ROOF
HOUSE"—CARPENTER'S HALL," &c.
[Letter for publication from Philadelphia, Dec. 24, signed "W."]
Muscatine (weekly) *Journal*, v. 5, Jan. 6, 1854.
(Branch, 15-17.)

Obituary poetry. [Not extant. According to Paine, submitted to the
Philadelphia *Ledger*, but not published. Presumably written during
the last three months of 1853 or early in 1854.]
(Mentioned in Paine, 98.)

1854

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE. [Letter for publication from
Washington, Feb. 18, 19, signed "W."]
Muscatine (weekly) *Journal*, v. 5, Mar. 24.
(Branch, 18-22.)

1855

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE "JOURNAL." [Letter for publica-
tion from St. Louis, Feb. 16.]
Muscatine (tri-weekly) *Journal*, v. 1, Feb. 28.
(Branch, 23-25.)

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE "JOURNAL." [Letter for publica-
tion from St. Louis, Mar. 5.]
Muscatine (tri-weekly) *Journal*, v. 1, Mar. 14.
(Branch, 26-27.)

1856

After-dinner speech. [Not extant. Delivered Jan. 17, 1856, at a printers' banquet in Keokuk, Iowa.]

(Briefly described in the *Keokuk Daily Gate City*, v. 2, Jan. 19, 1856: "The Printers' Festival. Birthday of Benjamin Franklin"; in the *Daily Gate City*, Jan. 17, 1885: "A Reminiscence," by J. C. Fry; in Paine, 107.)

Letter. [To Annie Taylor, from Keokuk, May 25.]

Kansas City Star Magazine, v. 2: 3-5, Mar. 21, 1926.

(Brashear, 167-169.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Keokuk, June 10.]

(*Letters*, 32-33.)

Letter. [To Henry Clemens, from Keokuk, Aug. 5.]

(*Letters*, 34-35.)

****THE GREAT FAIR AT ST. LOUIS.** [Letter from St. Louis to "Messrs. Editors," signed "Sam." Discovered by Franklin J. Meine and available in his files.]

Keokuk Daily Post, Oct. 21.

CORRESPONDENCE. [Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass letter 1. From St. Louis, Oct. 18.]

Keokuk Saturday Post, v. 1, Nov. 1.

(Honce, 3-16.)

SNODGRASS' RIDE ON THE RAILROAD. [Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass letter 2. From Cincinnati, Nov. 14.]

Keokuk Daily Post, v. 2, Nov. 29.

(Honce, 19-33.)

1857

SNODGRASS, IN A ADVENTURE. [Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass letter 3. From Cincinnati, Mar. 14.]

Keokuk Daily Post, v. 2, Apr. 10.

(Honce, 37-48.)

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

1857

Letter. [To Annie Taylor, from New Orleans, June 1.]

Kansas City Star Magazine, v. 2: 3-5, Mar. 21, 1926.

(Brashear, 176-179.)

1858

Letter. [To Mr. and Mrs. Orion Clemens, from St. Louis, Mar. 9.]
(*Letters*, 36-38.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Orion Clemens, from Memphis, June 18.]
(*Letters*, 39-41.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, n. d., but written late in 1858. A fragment.]
(Paine, 146.)

1859

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from St. Louis, 1859. A fragment.]
(*Letters*, 42-44.)

RIVER INTELLIGENCE. ["Sergeant Fathom" burlesque of Isaiah Sellers, Vicksburg, May 8.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 12, May 17.
(Paine, 1593-1596.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Elizabeth W. Smith, from St. Louis, Oct. 31.]
(*Letters*, 44-45.)

1860

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from St. Louis, Mar. 18.]
(*Letters*, 45-47.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from New Orleans, Sept. 28.]
(*Letters*, 48.)

Letter. [To John T. Moore, n. d., but probably late 1860. A fragment.]
(Paine, 156.)

1861

****THE EXPEDITION TO BATON ROUGE.** [Quintus Curtius Snodgrass letter, New Orleans, Jan. 14.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 13, Jan. 21.
(Brashear, 182-189.)

****WASHINGTON ARTILLERY BALL.** [Quintus Curtius Snodgrass letter, New Orleans, Jan. 31.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 13, Feb. 1.

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from New Orleans, Feb. 6.]

(*Letters*, 48-51, in part; unprinted portions in the papers of the Mark Twain Estate and in the Samuel C. Webster Collection.)

****HINTS TO YOUNG CAMPAIGNERS, WITH THE MANUAL OF ARMS. ARRANGED AND SELECTED FROM "HAR-DEE," BY QUINTUS CURTIUS SNODGRASS, ESQ., HIGH**

OLD PRIVATE OF LOUISIANA GUARD. DEDICATED TO CHARLES AUGUSTUS BROWN, ESQ. . . . PART I—HINTS IN THE DRILL ROOM. [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 13, Feb. 18.

****HINTS TO YOUNG CAMPAIGNERS, WITH THE MANUAL OF ARMS. ARRANGED AND SELECTED FROM "HAR-DEE," BY QUINTUS CURTIUS SNODGRASS, ESQ., HIGH OLD PRIVATE OF LOUISIANA GUARD. DEDICATED TO CHARLES AUGUSTUS BROWN, ESQ. CHAPTER II. PRIVATES IN THE DRILL ROOM.** [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 13, Feb. 25.

****HINTS TO YOUNG CAMPAIGNERS, WITH THE MANUAL OF ARMS. ARRANGED AND SELECTED FROM "HAR-DEE," BY QUINTUS CURTIUS SNODGRASS, ESQ., HIGH OLD PRIVATE OF LOUISIANA GUARD. DEDICATED TO CHARLES AUGUSTUS BROWN, ESQ. CHAPTER III. ACTIVE SERVICE.** [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 13, Mar. 4.

****SNODGRASS GOES TO SEE THE SIGHTS.** [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 14, Mar. 11.

****SNODGRASS DINES WITH OLD ABE.** [Falsely headed from Washington, Mar. 7.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 14, Mar. 14.

****HINTS TO YOUNG CAMPAIGNERS, WITH THE MANUAL OF ARMS. ARRANGED AND SELECTED FROM "HAR-DEE," BY QUINTUS CURTIUS SNODGRASS, ESQ., HIGH OLD PRIVATE OF LOUISIANA GUARD. DEDICATED TO CHARLES AUGUSTUS BROWN, ESQ., PART II.—ACTIVE SERVICE. CHAPTER II.** [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 14, Mar. 14.

****HINTS TO YOUNG CAMPAIGNERS, WITH THE MANUAL OF ARMS. ARRANGED AND SELECTED FROM "HAR-DEE," BY QUINTUS CURTIUS SNODGRASS, ESQ., HIGH OLD PRIVATE OF LOUISIANA GUARD. DEDICATED TO CHARLES AUGUSTUS BROWN, ESQ. PART II.—ACTIVE SERVICE. CHAPTER III.** [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 14, Mar. 18.

****HINTS TO YOUNG CAMPAIGNERS, WITH THE MANUAL OF ARMS. ARRANGED AND SELECTED FROM "HAR-**

DEE," BY QUINTUS CURTIUS SNODGRASS, ESQ., HIGH OLD PRIVATE OF LOUISIANA GUARD. DEDICATED TO CHARLES AUGUSTUS BROWN, ESQ. PART II.—ACTIVE SERVICE. CHAPTER IV. [n. d.]

New Orleans (daily) *Crescent*, v. 14, Mar. 30.

**Report on the Hannibal Home Guards. [To the editor of the *Missouri State Journal*, signed "Sam."]

Hannibal (daily) *Messenger*, June 20.

(*American Literature*, v. 12: 467, Jan., 1941.)

Notebook entries. [River notebooks: up to 1861?]

(*Notebook*, 3-5, in part, as selected by Paine. Additional entries in the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

WASHOE

1861

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett (from Carson City?), n. d., but probably September.]

(*Letters*, 56-59, in part.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Carson City, Oct. 25.]

(*Letters*, 59-62.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from Carson City, Oct. 26.]

Keokuk Gate City, v. 8, Nov. 20.

(*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, v. 28: 453-456, July, 1929, in full; *Letters*, 53-55, in part.)

1862

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from Carson City, Jan. 30.]

Keokuk Gate City, v. 9, Mar. 6.

(*American Literature*, v. 10: 345-349, Nov., 1938.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Carson City, Feb. 8.]

(*Letters*, 63-68.)

Letter. [To William H. Claggett, from Carson City, Mar. 8.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate, by courtesy of Dr. Fred W. Lorch.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from Carson City, Mar. 20.]

Keokuk Gate City, v. 9, June 25.

(*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, v. 28: 268-276, Apr., 1930.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from Carson City, Apr. 2.]

(*Letters*, 69-70.)

- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, Apr. 13.]
(*Letters*, 70-72.)
- Letter. [To William H. Claggett, from Esmeralda, Apr. 18.]
(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate, by courtesy of Dr. Fred W. Lorch.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, Apr. 28.]
(Paine, 196-197, in part.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, May 11.]
(*Letters*, 73-76.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, n. d.]
(*Letters*, 76-78, in part.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, n. d.]
(*Letters*, 78-79, in part.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, n. d.]
(*Letters*, 79, in part.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, n. d.]
(*Letters*, 79-81.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, July 23.]
(*Letters*, 81-82.)
- Description of mining claims. [Said by Clemens to have been published in the *Territorial Enterprise*, and presumably written between mid-February and late August, 1862, the duration of Clemens's stay in the Esmeralda mining district. These writings have not been located.]
Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Described in DeVoto, 390.)
- The "Josh" letters. [Written between mid-February and the end of July, 1862. These contributions to the *Territorial Enterprise* were signed "Josh." They include: (1) a burlesque account of an old horse; (2) a burlesque of Chief Justice George Turner's oratory ("Professor Personal Pronoun"); (3) a burlesque Fourth of July oration. None have been located.]
Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Described in Paine, 194-195, 203; in DeVoto, 390-392; in Lyman, 202-203.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, July 30.]
(*Letters*, 83, in part.)
- Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Esmeralda, Aug. 7.]
(*Letters*, 83-84.)
- Letter. [To Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Esmeralda, Aug. 15.]
(*Letters*, 85-86.)

Letter. [To William H. Claggett, from Esmeralda, Sept. 9.]
(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate, by courtesy of Dr. Fred W. Lorch.)

First day's reporting on the *Territorial Enterprise*. [According to Clemens, this consisted of accounts of a hay wagon's arrival, a murder, and an Indian attack on some emigrant wagons, all greatly exaggerated. None have been located.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d., but probably mid-Sept.

(Described in *Roughing It*, v. 2: 6-7.)

"Regulars" of city reporting. [Court reports, mining and milling statistics, school reports, inquests, etc.: in general, the factual reporting entailed by Clemens's job.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Described in *Roughing It*, v. 2: 8-11.)

A WASHOE JOKE. [The traditional title of Clemens's hoax is "The Petrified Man." The traditional date of first publication is Oct. 5. The article is extant in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, v. 15, Oct. 15, as "A Washoe Joke."]

Territorial Enterprise, Oct. 5 (?).

(Benson, 175.)

Reports of the Second Territorial Legislature of Nevada. [From Carson City, during the last two months of 1862.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Described in Paine, 219-221; in DeVoto, 392.)

Article dubbing Clement T. Rice "The Unreliable." [One short quotation is preserved. It may have been taken from Clemens's accounts of the Second Territorial Legislature or from other correspondence of that period (Nov. or Dec., 1862).]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(*Letters*, 89.)

1863

A SUNDAY IN CARSON. [From Carson City. Internal evidence—the murder of Derrickson by Swazey—dates the writing of this piece shortly after Jan. 23, 1863, the day of the murder.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Rabb, 1813-1814.)

IN CARSON CITY. [From Carson City. This is the first extant piece to make use of the name "Mark Twain," this pseudonym appearing in the text. Feb. 2, 1863, is the date given by Paine for the first use of "Mark Twain" as a signature. This article, therefore, which is:

part of Clemens's "feud" with Clement T. Rice ("The Unreliable"), may be dated after Feb. 2, 1863, some time during the early months of that year.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Rabb, 1805-1808.)

THE UNRELIABLE. [From Carson City. A reference to a detail of Clemens's quarrel with "The Unreliable" places the writing of this article shortly after that of "In Carson City."]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Rabb, 1815-1818.)

YE SENTIMENTAL LAW STUDENT. [Probably from Carson City. Part of this letter is dated Feb. 14, 1863.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Rabb, 1818-1820.)

An account of the dinner of the Washoe Stock and Exchange Board. [Probably published Mar. 7 or 8, the dinner having been held the night of Mar. 6.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Angel, 577.)

CITY MARSHAL PERRY. [Probably written in 1863, and possibly written shortly after the foregoing entry, followed an altercation between Marshal Perry and the Stock and Exchange Board. See Angel, 577.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Rabb, 1809-1813.)

ADVICE TO THE UNRELIABLE ON CHURCH GOING. [Written Apr. 11 and probably published Apr. 12. See *Letters*, 88.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
(Rabb, 1814-1815.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Virginia City, Apr. 11.]

(*Letters*, 88-89.)

STORIES FOR GOOD LITTLE BOYS AND GIRLS.

Golden Era, v. 10, May 15.

**FOR LAGER. [The title in the Humboldt *Register* of a reprint, no title, from the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d., attributed to the *Enterprise* local reporter at a time when Clemens's coreporter, William Wright, was in the East.]

Humboldt (Unionville, Nev.) *Register*, v. 1, May 16.

****BULLION.** [This and the following entry, each an unsigned paragraph, were reprinted from the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d. Both articles probably were written five or six weeks before the publication date below. They are written in the manner of Clemens's reporting and at a time when his coreporter, William Wright, was in the East.]

Cedar Falls (Iowa) *Gazette*, v. 4, July 10.

****DECIDEDLY RICH.**

Cedar Falls (Iowa) *Gazette*, v. 4, July 10.

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from San Francisco, June 1. A fragment.]

(*Letters*, 90-91.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens (and Mrs. Pamela Moffett?), from San Francisco, June 4.]

(Paine, 233, a short quotation given.)

ALL ABOUT THE FASHIONS. [From San Francisco, June 19; originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 11, Sept. 27.

(Walker, 38-41.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from San Francisco, June 20.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens (and Mrs. Pamela Moffett?), written early in July.]

(Paine, 233-234, in part.)

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, July 5.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, July 9.

Home Again

The Henness Pass

What Our Future Prosperity Depends Upon

The Fourth in Virginia

Man Shot

The Mines

False Report

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, July 12.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, July 15.

AN HOUR IN THE CAVED MINE. [Probably written July 16 and probably published July 17: cf. the following letter.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(*Roughing It*, v. 2: 95-97.)

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, July 16.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, July 18.

Ophir Damages

As Good as Ever

The Mine not Really Injured

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, July 19.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, July 23.

Judicial Broil

Theatricals

General Benevolence

The Caved Mines

About Other Mines

Immigration

Billiard Match

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, July 26.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, July 30.

The Judicial War Ended

Tribute to California

Apology for a Letter

GYMNASIUM. [The title of a short, satirical exchange between Clemens and "the Obese" (Charlie Parker) of the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*. Clemens's piece is reprinted from a current *Territorial Enterprise*, probably of late July.]

San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, v. 16, Aug. 1.

Mark Twain's account of the Goodman-Fitch duel. [Written about Aug. 1.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Angel, 292.)

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, Aug. 2.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, Aug. 6.

Fire Matters

Agricultural Fair

A Duel Ruined

Theatricals

Territorial Politics

Military Arrest

Washoe Cavalry

Phelan Coming

Steam-Printing in Washoe (*Twainian*, v. 3: 5, May, 1944.)

Judge Jones Resigned

Carson Races
 Mines, Etc.
 Building
 Foot Race

Mark Twain's reply to Clement T. Rice's "apology." [Probably written about Aug. 3 or 4. See Angel, 293.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Paine, 235; Angel, 293, in part.)

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, Aug. 8.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, Aug. 13.

The City of Virginia
 More Fire Companies
 Visiting Brethren
 Carson Races
 Theatricals
 Legal Battle
 Railroad Meeting
 No Democratic Convention
 Mining Affairs

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Steamboat Springs, Aug. 19.]

(*Letters*, 91-93.)

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From the Steamboat Springs Hotel, Steamboat Springs, Nevada, Aug. 20.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, Aug. 30.

"Mark" Gets Invalided and Goes to Tahoe
 From Thence to Steamboat Springs
 A Rich Decision (*Twainian*, v. 3: 5-6, May, 1944.)
 The Hotel and Its Occupants
 The Effect of a Bath
 Has a Quarrel with "John Halifax"

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Virginia City, Aug. 30.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, Sept. 3.

Mass Meetings
 The Fire
 Unfortunate Blunder

Literary Manifesto of Clemens and William Wright.

[Written after Sept. 5, the date of Wright's return to Virginia City.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Paine, 228, a quotation given.)

****Report on bullion production through June, 1863.** [Probably written considerably after June 30, 1863.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(*Roughing It*, v. 2: 91-92.)

BIGLER V.S. TAHOE. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 11, Sept. 13.

(Walker, 56.)

HOW TO CURE A COLD. [Possibly written in August during Clemens's visit to Steamboat Springs, or in late August or early September in San Francisco.]

Golden Era, v. 11, Sept. 20.

(*Sketches New and Old*, 363-369, as "Curing a Cold.")

THE LICK HOUSE BALL.

Golden Era, v. 11, Sept. 27.

(Walker, 33-38.)

THE GREAT PRIZE FIGHT.

Golden Era, v. 11, Oct. 11.

(Walker, 25-31.)

****TIME FOR HER TO COME HOME.** [Attributed to the *Territorial Enterprise* "humorous local" reporter; probably written five or six weeks before the publication date below.]

Cedar Falls (Iowa) *Gazette*, v. 4, Nov. 20.

THE LATEST SENSATION. [The title of Clemens's hoax, extant as a reprint in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, v. 17, Oct. 31. Traditionally known either as "The Empire City Massacre" story or as "The Dutch Nick Massacre" story.]

Territorial Enterprise, Oct. 28.

(Benson, 176-177. Paine, 1597-1599, with minor variations.)

Clemens's reply to the Gold Hill (Nevada) *News*. [Answering criticism of "The Empire City Massacre" hoax. Extant in the form of selected quotations in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, v. 17, Nov. 3.]

Territorial Enterprise, Oct. 30.

(Described and quoted in *American Literature*, v. 16: 201, Nov. 1944.)

"MARK TWAIN'S" LETTER. [From Carson City, Nov. 14.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 14, Nov. 19.

Nevada Constitutional Convention

Boundary of the State

Right of Suffrage

Corporations

Nevada

Officers (Benson, 57, as "On Murders.")

Miscellaneous

STILL HARPING. [Clemens's reply to criticisms from Nevada and California papers, occasioned by "The Empire City Massacre" hoax. Not extant, but referred to and digested in the Reese River (Austin, Nev.) *Reveille*, v. 1, Nov. 21.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d., but about mid-Nov.

(Described in *American Literature*, v. 16: 202, Nov., 1944.)

LIVES OF THE LIARS OR JOKING JUSTIFIED. [Clemens's defense of the newspaper hoax. Not extant, but referred to extensively in the Gold Hill (Nevada) *News*, v. 1, Nov. 21.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d., but about mid-Nov.

(Described in *American Literature*, v. 16: 202, Nov., 1944.)

"INGOMAR" OVER THE MOUNTAINS. THE "ARGUMENT."
[Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 11, Nov. 29.

(Walker, 58-60. Benson, 181-183.)

Uncaptioned article welcoming Artemus Ward. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 11, Nov. 29.

(Walker, 57-58, as "Greetings to Artemus Ward." Benson, 177-178, as "[Artemus Ward].")

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from Carson City, n. d.]

(Paine, 243-244, in part.)

DEATH—ROBBERY. [From Carson City, Dec. 1.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 15, Dec. 2.

(Benson, 178.)

A TIDE OF ELOQUENCE. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 11, Dec. 6.

(Walker, 66.)

ASSASSINATION IN CARSON. [From Carson City, Dec. 10.]

San Francisco *Morning Call*, v. 15, Dec. 11.

(Benson, 178.)

NEVADA STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. THIRD HOUSE. [From Carson City, Dec. 13, reported in "phonographic short-hand."]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Angel, 82-84. Scrap Book.)

OUR CARSON DISPATCH—SECOND SESSION. ["By telegraph,"
n. d.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Report of Artemus Ward's lecture in Virginia City. [Not extant, but
quoted in the Virginia City *Evening Bulletin*, v. 1, Dec. 28.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(The *Bulletin* extract is quoted in part in *American Literature*, v.
16: 203, Nov., 1944. It is quoted in full in Lillard, 93.)

THOSE BLASTED CHILDREN. [From the Lick House, San Francisco,
Wednesday, 1864. The publication of this burlesque in the
East seems to have been occasioned by Artemus Ward's advice. The
date of writing, therefore, may follow Ward's arrival in Virginia
City on Dec. 18. The supposed place of origin and the contents of
the article, however, possibly may indicate an earlier time of writing,
perhaps in the summer or autumn of 1863 during one of Clemens's
visits to San Francisco.]

New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 26, Feb. 21, 1864.

(Walker, 18-23.)

ADVICE FOR GOOD LITTLE GIRLS. [The similarity of this un-
dated piece to other articles of this year indicates 1863 as the possible
year of writing.]

Territorial Enterprise (?), n. d.

(*The \$30,000 Bequest*, 305-306.)

CHINATOWN. [Undated, but seemingly written late in 1863 or early
in 1864: the *Territorial Enterprise* staff moved to its new building
on July 31 or Aug. 1, 1862; Clemens, speaking of events antedating
that move probably by some months, refers to them as having oc-
curred "two years ago."]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(*Roughing It*, v. 2: 109-111.)

1864

Letter. [To S. Pixley and G. A. Sears, from Carson City, Jan. 23. Prob-
ably first in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Gold Hill *Daily News*, v. 1, Jan. 25.

(*Letters*, 96.)

Message to the "Third House." [Not extant. Delivered in Carson City,
Jan. 27, and possibly printed in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

(Described in the Virginia *Evening Bulletin*, v. 2, Jan. 29, in a letter

from Carson; in the *Virginia Daily Union*, v. 3, Jan. 30, in a letter signed "Meriden" and in an editorial entitled "The Imp of Mendacity"; and in Lillard, 15-16.)

**Satirical account of Bill Stewart's party. [Not located. Reportedly published about Feb. 1.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Described in Lyman, 269.)

WASHOE WIT. MARK TWAIN ON THE RAMPAGE. CONCERNING NOTARIES. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 12, Feb. 28.

(Benson, 178-181. Walker, 67-70, as "Concerning Notaries.")

"Third House" speech to W. H. Claggett. [Not extant. Delivered about Feb. 21 or 22 in Carson City.]

(Described in the *Virginia Daily Union*, v. 3, Feb. 23; in Lillard, 16.)

THE AGED PILOT MAN. [A poem claimed by Clemens to have been written for, but not published in, the short-lived *Weekly Occidental*, first issued Mar. 6.]

(*Roughing It*, v. 2: 85-89.)

Reviews of Adah Isaacs Menken's performances. [Not extant. Adah Isaacs Menken and troupe opened in Virginia City Mar. 2. Clemens is said to have written a series of eulogistic reviews and, growing out of these, some severe criticisms of other companies playing in Maguire's Opera House.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Described in Paine, 248; in Benson, 94-95; in Lyman, 279, 283-284.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Virginia City, written shortly after Mar. 2.]

(Paine, 248, in part.)

ANOTHER TRAITOR—HANG HIM! [Reprinted in the *Virginia Evening Bulletin*, v. 2, Apr. 1, under the editorial title "Another 'Goak.'"]

Territorial Enterprise, Apr. 1.

FRIGHTFUL ACCIDENT TO DAN DE QUILLE. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d., and later included in the *Golden Era* article headed: "'Mark Twain' and 'Dan De Quille'—Hors de Combat—Counter Statement—Just Retribution."]

Golden Era, v. 12, May 1.

(Walker, 50-53.)

Letter. [To Mollie Clemens, from Virginia City, May 20.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Virginia City, May.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

WASHOE—"INFORMATION WANTED." [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 12, May 22.

(Walker, 60-64.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from Virginia City, May 26.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

**Burlesque life of Shakespeare. [Not extant. Written in May.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Described in Lyman, 293.)

Editorial. [On the use of the Sanitary Fund proceeds in Carson City.

Not extant, but quoted in a letter (dated May 18, from Mrs. W. K. Cutler and others) printed in the *Virginia Daily Union*, v. 4, May 27.]

Territorial Enterprise, May 17.

(Benson, 111: reprint of Mrs. Cutler's letter.)

HOW IS IT? [An editorial accusing the *Daily Union* employees of repudiating their Sanitary Fund pledges. Not extant, but quoted and denounced in "'How Is It?'—How It Is," an editorial in the *Virginia Daily Union*, v. 4, May 19.]

Territorial Enterprise, May 18.

(Lyman, 294, quoted in part.)

Editorial. [Continuing the controversy with the *Daily Union*. Not extant, but answered in an editorial, "The 'How Is It' Issue," and in a letter captioned "How It Is" and signed "Printer," both communications in the *Virginia Daily Union*, v. 4, May 21.]

Territorial Enterprise, May 20.

(Benson, 107-109: reprints of the *Daily Union* communications.)

Letter. [To James L. Laird, from Virginia City, May 21. This and the two following letters probably were printed, in turn, in the *Territorial Enterprise*, very likely in two or more of the issues from May 21 to 23. They were reprinted by Clemens May 24, and are extant in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, v. 27, May 26, as "Personal Correspondence."]

Territorial Enterprise, May 24.

(Benson, 183.)

Letter. [To James L. Laird, from Virginia City, May 21.]

Territorial Enterprise, May 24.

(Benson, 184-185.)

Letter. [To the general public, from Virginia City, n. d.]

Territorial Enterprise, May 24.

(Benson, 185-186.)

Letter. [To Mrs. W. K. Cutler, from Virginia City, May 23.]

(*Letters*, 97-98.)

Miscellaneous memoranda and unpublished portions of letters to Mrs. Jane Clemens. [Written during Clemens's Virginia City period. In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.]

CALIFORNIA

1864

Dramatic reviews, court reports, and local news. [Unlocated. Written by Clemens for the San Francisco *Morning Call*, between early June and about mid-October. Clemens left Virginia City for San Francisco May 29. Evidence indicates that he had lost his position on the *Call* by Oct. 15. See *Gold Hill News*, v. 3, Oct. 15, a letter from "Amigo."]

(Described in Paine, 257; in DeVoto, 254-256.)

Article attacking the police. [Refused by the *Call*, although written for that paper during the period of Clemens's employment as local reporter.]

(Described in Paine, 258; in DeVoto, 256-257.)

"MARK TWAIN" IN THE METROPOLIS. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 12, June 26.

(Walker, 74-76, as "In the Metropolis.")

THE EVIDENCE IN THE CASE OF SMITH VS. JONES.

Golden Era, v. 12, June 26.

(Walker, 77-83.)

EARLY RISINGS, AS REGARDS EXCURSIONS TO THE CLIFF HOUSE.

Golden Era, v. 12, July 3.

(Walker, 83-88. Benson, 186-190.)

Letter. [To Orion and Mollie Clemens, from San Francisco, Aug. 12.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

A SMALL PIECE OF SPITE.

San Francisco Morning Call, v. 16, Sept. 6.

(Benson, 190-191.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from San Francisco, Sept. 25.]

(*Letters*, 99-100.)

A NOTABLE CONUNDRUM.

Californian, v. 1, Oct. 1.

(Howell, 121-124.)

Letter. [To Orion and Mollie Clemens, from San Francisco, Sept. 28.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

CONCERNING THE ANSWER TO THAT CONUNDRUM.

Californian, v. 1, Oct. 8.

(Howell, 125-130.)

STILL FURTHER CONCERNING THAT CONUNDRUM.

Californian, v. 1, Oct. 15.

(Howell, 131-135.)

WHEREAS.

Californian, v. 1, Oct. 22.

(Howell, 136-142, as "Whereas, Love's Bakery." *Sketches New and Old*, 305-309, in part, as "Aurelia's Unfortunate Young Man.")

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from San Francisco, Oct. 18.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

A TOUCHING STORY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BOYHOOD.

Californian, v. 1, Oct. 29.

(*The Jumping Frog*, 132-140.)

DANIEL IN THE LION'S DEN—AND OUT AGAIN ALL RIGHT.

Californian, v. 1, Nov. 5.

(Howell, 143-150.)

THE KILLING OF JULIUS CAESAR "LOCALIZED."

Californian, v. 1, Nov. 12.

(*Sketches New and Old*, 352-356.)

A FULL AND RELIABLE ACCOUNT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY METEORIC SHOWER OF LAST SATURDAY NIGHT.

Californian, v. 1, Nov. 19.

(Howell, 151-157.)

Letter. [To Orion Clemens, from San Francisco, Nov.]

(In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

LUCRETIA SMITH'S SOLDIER.

Californian, v. 2, Dec. 3.

(*The Jumping Frog*, 89-98.)

1865

Notebook entries. [Jan. 1 to Feb. 25; written at Vallecito and at Angel's Camp, Cal.]

(*Notebook*, 5-8, in part, as selected by Paine. Other entries are in the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

JIM SMILEY AND HIS JUMPING FROG. [Seemingly written between Feb. 25 and about Sept. 1. A closer approximation to the time of writing may be indicated by one of two considerations: (1) Of Clemens's writings during this period, the "Jumping Frog" is closest in manner and in content to parts of "An Unbiased Criticism," published Mar. 18; (2) "Simon Wheeler, Sonora" is a subtitle of "Answers to Correspondents," published June 17.]

New York *Saturday Press*, v. 4, Nov. 18.

(*Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog*, The Pocahontas Press, 1940: an exact reprint. *Sketches New and Old*, 17-22, as "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," with minor variations.)

AN UNBIASED CRITICISM. THE CALIFORNIA ART UNION—ITS MORAL EFFECTS UPON THE YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES CAREFULLY CONSIDERED AND CANDIDLY COMMENTED UPON.

Californian, v. 2, Mar. 18.

(Howell, 158-165.)

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE. BETWEEN MR. MARK TWAIN OF SAN FRANCISCO, AND REV. BISHOP HAWKS, D. D., OF NEW YORK, REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS OF PHILADELPHIA, AND REV. DR. CUMMINGS OF CHICAGO, CONCERNING THE OCCUPANCY OF GRACE CATHEDRAL.

Californian, v. 2, May 6.

(Howell, 166-175.)

FURTHER OF MR. MARK TWAIN'S IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

Californian, v. 2, May 13.

(Howell, 176-179.)

HOW I WENT TO THE GREAT RACE BETWEEN LODI AND NORFOLK.

Californian, v. 3, May 27.

(Benson, 192-194.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Californian, v. 3, June 3.

Discarded Lover (*Sketches New and Old*, 74-76.)

Nomme de Plume [Compiler's title.]
Arabella
Persecuted Unfortunate (*The Jumping Frog*, 48-49.)
Arthur Augustus (*Sketches New and Old*, 76.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Californian, v. 3, June 10.
Amateur Serenader (*The Jumping Frog*, 41-44.)
St. Clair Higgins, Los Angeles (*Sketches New and Old*, 73.)
Arithmeticus, Virginia, Nevada (*Sketches New and Old*, 73.)
Ambitious Learner, Oakland (*Sketches New and Old*, 73.)
Julia Maria
Nom de Plume
Melton Mowbray, Dutch Flat (*Sketches New and Old*, 72-73.)
Laura Matilda
Professional Beggar (*Sketches New and Old*, 72.)
Note

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Californian, v. 3, June 17.
Moral Statistician (*Sketches New and Old*, 68-70.)
Simon Wheeler, Sonora. (*Sketches New and Old*, 70-72.)
Inquirer (*The Jumping Frog*, 39-40.)
Anna Maria
Charming Simplicity
Literary Connoisseur
Etiquetticus, Monitor Silver Mines

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Californian, v. 3, June 24.
True Son of the Union
Socrates Murphy (*The Jumping Frog*, 55-57.)
Arithmeticus, Virginia, Nevada (*Sketches New and Old*, 79-80.)
Young Mother (*Sketches New and Old*, 76-79.)
Blue Stocking, San Francisco
Agnes St. Clair Smith
Discouraging

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Californian, v. 3, July 1.
Young Actor
Mary, Rincon School
Anxiety, S. F.
Mark Twain
Gold Hill News

**SMITH BROWN JONES. [By the fictitious S. Browne Jones.]

Golden Era, v. 13, July 2.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Californian, v. 3, July 8.

Inquirer, Sacramento

Student of Etiquette

Mary, Rincon School

ANSWER TO AN INQUIRY FROM THE COMING MAN.

YOUNG AUTHOR. [Grouped with the *Californian* "Answers" in *Sketches New and Old*, and very possibly written in 1865 for the *Californian*.]

Galaxy, v. 11: 159, Jan., 1871.

(*Sketches New and Old*, 70, as "Young Author.")

**S. BROWNE JONES. [By the fictitious S. Browne Jones.]

Golden Era, v. 13, July 9.

**S. BROWNE JONES. [By the fictitious S. Browne Jones.]

Golden Era, v. 13, July 16.

THE FACTS. CONCERNING THE RECENT TROUBLE BETWEEN MR. MARK TWAIN AND MR. JOHN WILLIAM SKAE OF VIRGINIA CITY—WHEREIN IT IS ATTEMPTED TO BE PROVED THAT THE FORMER WAS NOT TO BLAME IN THE MATTER.

Californian, v. 3, Aug. 26.

(Howell, 180-187.)

EARTHQUAKE ALMANAC. [Originally in the San Francisco *Dramatic Chronicle*, 1865.]

Golden Era, v. 13, Oct. 22.

(Walker, 90-91.)

CATS! [The *Golden Era* title for an anecdote about a "renowned fiddling humbug," taken from a letter by Clemens to the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 13, Oct. 29.

REAL ESTATE VERSUS IMAGINARY POSSESSIONS, POETICALLY CONSIDERED. [Including Clemens's poem, "My Ranch."]

Californian, v. 3, Oct. 28.

(Howell, 188-190.)

MY RANCH. [Burlesque poem printed in Clemens's "Real Estate Versus Imaginary Possessions, Poetically Considered."]

Californian, v. 3, Oct. 28.

(Howell, 100.)

****GRAND THEATRICAL BANQUET.** [Not extant. Said to concern the theatrical barbecue at the Occidental Hotel, San Francisco, Nov., 1865. Attributed to *Territorial Enterprise*, 1865, by George Hiram Brownell.]

"MARK TWAIN" ON THE BALLAD INFLICTION. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]
Californian, v. 3, Nov. 4.
 (Benson, 194-195.)

SAN FRANCISCO CORRESPONDENCE. [From San Francisco, Nov. 8.]

Napa County (Calif.) *Reporter*, v. 10, Nov. 11.

Singular Accident

A Daniel Come to Judgment (Phillips, 140.)

The Addisonians (Phillips, 140.)

Amusements (Phillips, 140-141, in part.)

Jump's Last

"MARK TWAIN" ON THE LAUNCH OF THE STEAMER "CAPITAL."

Californian, v. 3, Nov. 18.

(*Sketches New and Old*, 359-362, in part, as "The Scriptural Pano-
 ramist.")

THE OLD THING. [Extant in the *Californian*, v. 3, Nov. 25.]

Territorial Enterprise, Nov. 18.

(Benson, 195-196, as "What Cheer Robbery.")

THE PIONEER BALL. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d., but probably about Nov. 20 or 21. Other versions appear in the *Golden Era*, v. 13, Nov. 26, as "'Mark Twain'—The Pioneers' Ball," and in *Sketches New and Old*, 310-311, as "'After' Jenkins"—which may have been the title in the *Territorial Enterprise*. The *Californian* version is reprinted in the New York *Saturday Press*, Dec. 23, 1865.]

Californian, v. 3, Nov. 25.

(Walker, 41-43: a reprint of the *Golden Era* version.)

MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS. NUMBER 1. [From San Francisco, Nov. 23. Clemens's second letter in the *Reporter*.]

Napa County (Calif.) *Reporter*, v. 10, Nov. 25.

The Guard on a Bender

Benkert Cometh (Phillips, 141.)

Kip, Kip, Hurrah!

Death of Gen. de Russy

- UNCLE LIGE. [The title of the original printing in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d. Extant as "'Mark Twain' Overpowered."]
Californian, v. 4, Dec. 2.
 (Howell, 191-193, as "'Mark Twain' Overpowered.")
- MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS. [From San Francisco, Nov. 30.]
 Napa County (Calif.) *Reporter*, v. 10, Dec. 2.
 Webb's Benefit
 Banished
 Wretched Summerville
 Too Bad
- SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 11.]
Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
 (Scrap Book.)
 Personal
 Christian Spectator
 The Police Judge Trouble
 More Romance
 Telegraphic
- SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 13.]
Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
 (Scrap Book.)
 Managerial
 Not a Suicide
 Reopening of the Plaza
 More Fashions—Exit "Waterfall"
- Letter on the Mexican oyster. [Not extant but, according to Paine, part of a "San Francisco Letter" to the *Territorial Enterprise* written before Clemens's Dec. 19 attack on Evans (see below: "Caustic"). The subject of Mexican oysters is touched on in Clemens's Dec. 23 letter under the subtitle "Another Enterprise."]
Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
 (Described in Paine, 274.)
- SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 19.]
Territorial Enterprise, n. d.
 (Scrap Book.)
 Caustic
 Thief Catching
 I Knew It!
 MacDougal vs. Maguire
 Louis Aldrich
 Gould and Curry

THE CHRISTMAS FIRESIDE. FOR GOOD LITTLE GIRLS AND
BOYS BY GRANDFATHER TWAIN.

Californian, v. 4, Dec. 23.

(Howell, 202-205. *Sketches New and Old*, 44-48, as "The Story of
the Bad Little Boy.")

ENIGMA.

Californian, v. 4, Dec. 23.

(Howell, 206-207.)

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 20.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

The New Swimming Bath

Buckingham

Mining Corporations

Major Farren

Sam Brannan

The "Eccentrics"

MacDougal vs. Maguire [Including Clemens's poem "Nursery
Rhyme."]

Uncle Joe Trench

Poem on MacDougal and Maguire. [From a lost letter in the *Territorial
Enterprise*, n. d., but probably published in December. Cf. the poem
"Nursery Rhyme" in the Dec. 20 letter.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Paine, 275-276.)

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 22.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

How Long, O Lord, How Long?

Editorial Poem [Including Clemens's "blank verse": "Christmas
Comes But Once a Year."]

Facetious

Mayo and Aldrich

Financial

Personal

Mock Duel—Almost

More Wisdom

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 23.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Extraordinary Delicacy

Shooting
 Another Enterprise
 Spirit of the Local Press
 Gardner Indicted

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Dec. 29.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

The Black Hole of San Francisco

Busted (Walker, 108-109, as "Busted and Gone Abroad," with minor changes.)

A Pleasant Farce [The title, in the *Alta California*, n. d., of an article quoted and commented upon by Clemens.]

Inspiration of Louderback

Personal

THE DOLEFUL BALLAD OF THE REJECTED LOVER. [Not extant; probably not printed.]

(Briefly described in Paine, 276.)

**STEAMER DEPARTURES. [Not extant. Attributed to *Territorial Enterprise*, 1865, by George Hiram Brownell.]

THE STORY OF THE GOOD LITTLE BOY WHO DID NOT PROSPER. [Published in the *Galaxy* and said by Clemens to have been written for that journal. *Sketches New and Old*, however, gives the date of writing as "about 1865," and this information possibly may be correct.]

Galaxy, v. 9, May, 1870.

(*Sketches New and Old*, 49-55, as "The Story of the Good Little Boy.")

A COUPLE OF POEMS BY TWAIN AND MOORE. [Including Clemens's poem "Those Annual Bills." Assigned to "about 1865" in *Sketches New and Old*. No earlier publication than that in this volume, however, is known. George Hiram Brownell believes that Clemens wrote his poem for *Sketches New and Old*.]

(*Sketches New and Old*, 49-55.)

1866

MARK TWAIN'S NEW YEAR'S DAY. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Jan. 14.

(Walker, 111-113, as "New Year's Day.")

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Jan. 8.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

White Man Mighty Onsartain

The Opening Night

The Portraits

The Mint Defalcation

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Jan. 11.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Gorgeous New Romance by Fitz Smythe

Another Romance

Precious Stones

Premature

A Handsome Testimonial

The California Art Union

Theatrical

MARK TWAIN. WHAT HAVE THE POLICE BEEN DOING?

[Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Jan. 21.

(Walker, 97-99.)

FITZ SMYTHE'S HORSE. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Jan. 21.

(Walker, 99-101.)

Letter on corruption in San Francisco. [Not extant. As described in other papers, the letter concerned "adultery" and "incest." It may have been the sensational letter (mentioned by Paine, 264) on "lechery," although Paine, perhaps erroneously, dated the letter before Dec., 1864.]

Territorial Enterprise, Jan. 22 or 23.

(Described in the *Virginia Daily Union*, v. 7, Jan. 23, and in the *Gold Hill News*, v. 5, Jan. 23.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from San Francisco, Jan. 20.]

(*Letters*, 101-102.)

A COMPLAINT ABOUT CORRESPONDENTS. [Credited by the *Californian*, v. 4, Mar. 24, to the *New York Weekly Review*. Probably written two months or more before the *Californian* reprint date.]

New York *Weekly Review*, n. d.

(*The Jumping Frog*, 26-33, as "A Complaint about Correspondents,
Dated in San Francisco.")

MARK TWAIN'S KEARNY STREET GHOST STORY. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Jan. 28.

(Walker, 120-121, as "The Kearny Street Ghost Story." Benson, 196-197.)

"MARK TWAIN." [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d. "Busted, and Gone Abroad" appeared in an *Enterprise* letter, dated Dec. 29, 1865, and bore the title "Busted."]

Golden Era, v. 14, Jan. 28.

(Walker. See page numbers below.)

Captain Montgomery (104-105)

The Chapman Family (102-103)

Miseries of Washoe Men (110-111)

Busted, and Gone Abroad (108-109)

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Jan. 24.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

More Outcroppings

Among the Spiritualists (Walker, 122-124, in part, as "Among the Spirits." See Feb. 4 entry.)

Personal

How They Take It

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Jan. 28.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Bearding the Fenian in His Lair (*The Jumping Frog*, 58-59, as "Among the Fenians," with minor changes.)

Card from the Volunteers

Sabbath Reflections

Closed Out

Neodamode

MARK TWAIN AMONG THE SPIRITS. [Part of this article was published in the *Territorial Enterprise*, Jan. 24, 1866, as "Among the Spiritualists." See the Jan. 24 letter above.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 4.

(Walker, 122-124, as "Among the Spirits.")

"MARK TWAIN" AMONG THE SPIRITS. [The title of the extant article in the *Californian*, v. 4, Feb. 10.]

Territorial Enterprise, Feb. 4.

(Walker, 125-129, reprinted in part as "Mark Twain A Committee Man." See Feb. 11, 1866, entry.)

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Feb. 3.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Personal

More Cemeterial Ghastliness

Rev. Charles Ellis

More Outcroppings

Take the Stand, Fitz Smythe

MARK TWAIN A COMMITTEE MAN.—GHOSTLY GATHERING—DOWN AMONG THE DEAD MEN.—A PHANTOM FANDANGO. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 11.

(Walker, 125-129, as "Mark Twain a Committee Man.")

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Feb. 6.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Remarkable Dream

Personal

Dogberry's Lecture

MARK TWAIN ON THE SIGNAL CORPS. EQUAL TO SPIRITUALISM. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 18.

(Walker, 131-133, as "The Signal Corps.")

MARK TWAIN ON SPIRITUAL INSANITY. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 18.

(Walker, 129-131, as "Spiritual Insanity.")

THE RUSSIAN AMERICAN TELEGRAPH COMPANY. [The title of the original article in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d. Extant in part in the *Golden Era*, as "Mysterious Newspaper Man."]

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 18.

(Walker, 105-106, as "Mysterious Newspaper Man.")

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Feb. 12.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Michael

Liberality of Michael
 Liberality to His Heir
 The Fashions
 The New Play
 Personal

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Feb. 15.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Funny
 Montana
 Literary
 Personal
 Specie and Currency

MARK TWAIN ON FASHIONS.

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 25.

(Walker, 43-44, as "Fashions.")

MARK TWAIN ON CALIFORNIA CRITICS.

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 25.

(Walker, 101-102, as "On California Critics.")

A SAN FRANCISCO MILLIONAIRE.

Golden Era, v. 14, Feb. 25.

(Walker, 109-110.)

A NEW BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. [Originally in the *Territorial Enterprise*, n. d.]

Californian, v. 4, Mar. 3.

(Walker, 106-108, as "Biographical Sketch of George Washington," reprinted from the *Golden Era*, v. 14, Mar. 4.)

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. [From San Francisco, Feb. 23.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

A Voyage of the Ajax [A fragment. See Mar. 3 entry.]
 Pleasing Incident
 Off for the Snow Belt
 After Them
 Theatrical

"PRESENCE OF MIND." INCIDENTS OF THE DOWN TRIP OF THE "AJAX." [Presumably taken or rewritten from the missing portion of "A Voyage of the Ajax" in the *Territorial Enterprise* letter dated Feb. 23, above.]

Californian, v. 4, Mar. 3.

(*The Jumping Frog*, 172-175, as "Remarkable Instances of Presence of Mind"; Frear, App. A.)

MARK TWAIN ON THE NEW WILD CAT RELIGION.

Golden Era, v. 14, Mar. 4.

(Benson, 197-198. Walker, 133-134, as "The New Wildcat Religion.")

MORE SPIRITUAL INVESTIGATIONS BY MARK TWAIN.

Golden Era, v. 14, Mar. 11.

(Walker, 135-137, as "More Spiritual Investigations.")

REFLECTIONS ON THE SABBATH, BY MARK TWAIN.

Golden Era, v. 14, Mar. 18.

(Walker, 115-116, as "Reflections on the Sabbath.")

LETTER FROM MARK TWAIN. [From Sacramento, Sunday, Feb. 25.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(Scrap Book.)

Sacramento

The "High Grade" Improvement

Boot-Blacking (Walker, 114, as "On Boot-Blacks.")

Brief Climate Paragraph

The Lullaby of the Rain

I Try to Out "Sass" the Landlord—and Fail

Mr. John Paul's Baggage

ON LINDEN, ETC.

Californian, v. 4, Apr. 7.

(Howell, 208-209.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from San Francisco, Mar. 5.]

(*Letters*, 103.)

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

1866

[The Sandwich Island Letters, published in the Sacramento *Daily Union*, are sometimes known by their first subheadings. In accordance with this practice, the first subheading of each *Union* letter is given below, following the main newspaper heading for the letter. Other subheadings appearing throughout the texts are not listed here. The dates and places of writing given in brackets are those prefixed to the letters by Clemens. However, it should be noticed that the last eight Sandwich Island Letters (Nos. 18-25) were published in the *Union* after Clemens's

return to San Francisco on August 13. Therefore, although some of these are predated from various island localities, it is very probable that all were written—either on shipboard or in San Francisco—after Clemens sailed from Honolulu for California on July 19, 1866.

The complete *Union* texts of all twenty-five letters are to be published in the forthcoming study by Walter Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii*. Frear has included many newspaper references to Clemens's Sandwich Island Letters and to his Sandwich Island lecture.]

Notebook entries. [From Mar. 9 to Aug. 13, 1866: to the Sandwich Islands and back to San Francisco.]

(*Notebook*, 9-31, in part, as selected by Paine. Other entries in the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.)

SAN FRANCISCO TO SANDWICH ISLANDS—NO. 1. CLIMATIC. [On board steamer *Ajax*, Honolulu (H.I.), Mar. 18.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 16.

(Dane 1-5, as "On Board Steamer Ajax.")

SAN FRANCISCO TO SANDWICH ISLANDS—NO. 2. THE AJAX VOYAGE CONTINUED—THE "OLD NOR'WEST SWELL." [Honolulu, Mar. 19.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 17.

(Dane, 6-13, as "The Old Nor'west Swell.")

SAN FRANCISCO TO SANDWICH ISLANDS—NO. 3. STILL AT SEA. [Honolulu, Mar.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 18.

(Dane, 14-15, in part, as "The Steamship Ajax." Nickerson, 69-76, in part and for the entire remainder, as "The Importance of the Hawaiian Trade.")

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 4. OUR ARRIVAL ELABORATED A LITTLE MORE. [Honolulu, Mar.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 19.

(Dane, 16-24, as "Arrival at Honolulu.")

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 5. BOARD AND LODGING SECURED. [Honolulu, Mar.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 20.

(Dane, 25-32, as "Living Conditions.")

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 6. COMING HOME FROM PRISON. [Honolulu, Mar.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 21.

(Dane, 33-43, as "Equestrian Excursion.")

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 7. THE EQUESTRIAN EXCURSION CONCLUDED. [Honolulu, Mar.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Apr. 24.

(Dane, 44-51, as "The Island by Night.")

A STRANGE DREAM. [Written in Honolulu, on or about Apr. 1.]

New York *Saturday Press*, June 2.

(Frear, App. B; *The Jumping Frog*, 182-193: a reprint from the *Californian*, v. 5, July 7, 1866, a version with minor changes; Paine, 1607-1608, in part.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Honolulu, Apr. 3.]

(*Letters*, 104.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 8. OFF. [Honolulu (S.I.), Apr.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, May 21.

(Dane, 52-61, as "Saturday in Honolulu.")

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 9. SAD ACCIDENT. [Honolulu, Apr.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, May 22.

(Dane, 62-71, as "Mrs. Jollopson's 'Gam.'")

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 10. THE WHALING TRADE.

[Honolulu, Apr.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, May 23.

(Nickerson, 58-68.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 11. PARADISE AND THE PARI (JOKE). [Honolulu, Apr.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, May 24.

(Dane, 72-79, as "The Kalihi Valley.")

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Wailuku Sugar Plantation, Island of Maui, May 4.]

(*Letters*, 104-105.)

Letter. [To Will Bowen, from Wailuku Sugar Plantation, Island of Maui, May 7.]

(Hornberger, 11-12.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Orion Clemens, from Honolulu, May 22.]

(*Letters*, 105-106.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 12. HAWAIIAN LEGISLATURE.

[Honolulu, May 23.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, June 20.

(Dane, 80-87.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 13. LEGISLATURE CONTINUED—THE SOLONS AT WORK. [Honolulu, May 23.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, June 21.

(Dane, 88-95, as "The Solons at Work.")

Entry in Visitors' Book at Volcano House, crater of Kilauea. [Written and dated June 7.]

Daily Hawaiian *Herald*, v. 1, Dec. 5.

(Dane, 224.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Honolulu, June 21.]

(*Letters*, 106-108.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 13. HOME AGAIN. [Honolulu, June 22. This and the Union letter printed June 21 have the same number. This is letter 14 in the series.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, July 16.

(Dane, 96-107, as "Death of a Princess.")

LETTER FROM HONOLULU—BURNING OF THE CLIPPER SHIP HORNET AT SEA. [Honolulu, June 25. A special dispatch; letter 15.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, July 19.

(Nickerson, 3-33.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, from Honolulu, June 27. A fragment.]

(*Letters*, 108-109.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 14. A MONTH OF MOURNING. [Honolulu, June 30. Letter 16.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, July 30.

(Dane, 108-121.)

SCENES IN HONOLULU—NO. 15. FUNERAL OF A PRINCESS. [Honolulu, July 1. Letter 17.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Aug. 1.

(Dane, 122-137, as "A Royal Funeral.")

"MARK TWAIN" AT THE CONFESSIONAL. [Letter to Rev. Damon, from Honolulu, July 19.]

The Friend (Honolulu), New Series, v. 17, Aug. 1.

LETTER FROM HONOLULU. AT SEA AGAIN. [Honolulu, July. Letter 18.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Aug. 18.

(Dane, 138-149.)

- FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. STILL IN KONA—CONCERNING MATTERS AND THINGS. [Kona, July. Letter 19.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Aug. 24.
 (Dane, 150-161, as "Story of Captain Cook.")
- FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. GREAT BRITAIN'S QUEER MONUMENT TO CAPTAIN COOK. [Kealakekua Bay, n. d. Letter 20.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Aug. 30.
 (Dane, 162-169, as "Foraging for Food.")
- FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. A FUNNY SCRAP OF HISTORY. [Kealakekua Bay, July. Letter 21.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 31, Sept. 6.
 (Dane, 170-180, as "History and Legend.")
- FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. THE ROMANTIC GOD LONO. [Kealakekua Bay, July. Letter 22.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 32, Sept. 22.
 (Dane, 181-192, as "Voyage by Canoe.")
- FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. THE HIGH CHIEF OF SUGARDOM. [Honolulu, Sept. 10. Letter 23. This letter breaks the continuity of action between Letters 22 and 24. It may have been written last of all the Sandwich Island letters.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 32, Sept. 26.
 (Nickerson, 34-57, as "The Sugar Industry.")
- FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. A NOTABLE DISCOVERY. [Kilauea, June. Letter 24.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 32, Oct. 25.
 (Dane, 193-205, as "Kealakekua to Kau.")
- LETTER FROM HONOLULU. THE GREAT VOLCANO OF KILAUEA. [Volcano House, Kilauea, June 3, Midnight. Letter 25.]
 Sacramento *Daily Union*, v. 32, Nov. 16.
 (Dane, 206-213, as "The Kilauea Volcano.")
- Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and Mrs. Pamela Moffett, on board ship *Smyrniote*, dated in sections: July 30, Aug. 6, 8, 10, and, from San Francisco, Aug. 20.]
 (*Letters*, 115-119.)
- FORTY-THREE DAYS IN AN OPEN BOAT. [A rewritten account of the *Hornet* disaster: begun on board the *Smyrniote* between July 19 and Aug. 13 and completed in San Francisco after Aug. 13.]
Harper's New Monthly Magazine, v. 34: 104-113, Dec., 1866.

THE MORAL PHENOMENON. [A letter to the "Publishers *Californian*," from Farallones, Aug. 20.]

Californian, v. 5, Aug. 25.

(Howell, 210-211.)

SAN FRANCISCO LETTER. HOW, FOR INSTANCE? [San Francisco, Aug.]

Territorial Enterprise, n. d.

(*The Jumping Frog*, 76-81, as "An Inquiry about Insurance.")

Letter. [To Will Bowen, from San Francisco, Aug. 25.]

(Hornberger, 12-15.)

AN EPISTLE FROM MARK TWAIN. [San Francisco, Sept. 24.]

Daily Hawaiian *Herald*, v. 1, Oct. 17.

(Benson, 198-200; Frear, App. E.)

The Queen's Arrival

Alphabet Warren

Miscellaneous

ORIGIN OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

Californian, v. 5, Sept. 29.

(*The Jumping Frog*, 162-163.)

Notes for the Sandwich Islands lecture. [Of undetermined date. In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.]

Advertisement for the first San Francisco lecture (Oct. 2, 1866).

(Paine, 292.)

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. [Extracts from Clemens's first lecture, given in San Francisco, Oct. 2. These may have been taken from extended newspaper reports, now unidentified.]

(*Speeches*, 7-20; Paine, 1601-1603.)

Advertisement for the Sacramento lecture (Oct. 11, 1866).

(Dane, 221.)

Handbill for the Sacramento lecture (Oct. 11, 1866).

San Francisco *Dramatic Chronicle*, Oct. 13.

(Frear, Chap. 12, in part.)

Advertisement for the Nevada City lecture (Oct. 23, 1866).

Nevada *Daily Transcript*, Oct. 23.

(Dane, 220, in part.)

CARD FROM MARK TWAIN. [Virginia City, Nov. 1.]

Territorial Enterprise, v. 13, Nov. 4.

(Benson, 200; Frear, App. D5(1).)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and others, from Virginia City, Nov. 1.]

(*Letters*, 121.)

CARD TO THE HIGHWAYMEN.

Territorial Enterprise, v. 13, Nov. 11.

(Benson, 200-201; Frear, App. D7(4).)

MARK TWAIN ON CHAMBERMAIDS. [Originally published in the New York *Weekly Review*, n. d., but possibly late in 1866. The tale probably was written, at the latest, by mid-November, 1866.]
Californian, v. 6, Jan. 19, 1867.

(*Sketches New and Old*, 302-304, as "Concerning Chambermaids.")

MARK TWAIN'S INTERIOR NOTES. [Probably written in San Francisco after Clemens's return from his first lecture tour about Nov. 15.]

San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, v. 23, Nov. 30.

(Benson, 201-204.)

Sacramento

Marysville

Grass Valley

The Eureka

Nevada

MARK TWAIN'S INTERIOR NOTES—NO. 2. [Probably written, together with "Mark Twain's Interior Notes—No. 3" (see below), about Dec. 1, the approximate date of Clemens's return from his second lecture tour out of San Francisco. This piece, however, concerns places visited on his first lecture tour.]

San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, v. 23, Dec. 6.

(Benson, 204-207.)

To Red Dog and Back

An Aristocratic Turn-out

Silver Land

MARK TWAIN'S INTERIOR NOTES—NO. 3.

San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, v. 23, Dec. 7.

(Benson, 208-210.)

San Jose

Silk

MARK TWAIN MYSTIFIED.

San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, v. 23, Dec. 7.

(Benson, 210-211.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and family, from San Francisco, Dec. 4.]

(*Letters*, 122.)

Letter. [Dec. 6. A reply to a pretended popular request to repeat his lecture in San Francisco.]

Alta California, v. 18, Dec. 10.

(Frear, App. D5(2).)

"MARK TWAIN'S" FAREWELL. [An address delivered at Congress Hall, San Francisco, Dec. 10.]

Alta California, v. 18, Dec. 15.

(Benson, 211-213.)

SO-LONG.

Alta California, v. 18, Dec. 14.

(Benson, 211.)

NEW YORK CITY

1866

[With the exception of Nos. 8 through 12, all of the twenty-six American Travel Letters, Series 1, which were written for the *Alta California* (San Francisco), have the standing caption: "Letter from 'Mark Twain.'" In the list below, that caption has been omitted, and the letters are entered under the first subheading within the text—by which each letter is generally known—except for No. 3, which has no subheading. Letters 8 through 12 are entered both under their variant captions and under the first subheading which follows those captions. Other subheadings, to be found in the text of the American Travel Letters as reprinted in Walker-Dane, are not listed here.]

Notebook entries. [Dec. 15, 1866, to Jan. 12, 1867: from San Francisco to New York by sea, as selected by Paine. Other entries are in the papers of the Mark Twain Estate.]

(*Notebook*, 32-54.)

AWAY! [At sea, *S/S America*, Dec. 20. Letter 1.]

Alta California, v. 19, Jan. 18, 1867.

(Walker-Dane, 11-19.)

ISAAC. [At sea, *S/S America* (called *Columbia*), Dec. 20, 23. Letter 2.]

Alta California, v. 19, Feb. 22, 1867.

(Walker-Dane, 20-27.)

LETTER FROM "MARK TWAIN." [At sea, *S/S America* (called *Columbia*), Dec. 23. Letter 3.]

Alta California, v. 19, Feb. 24, 1867.

(Walker-Dane, 28-33; Frear, App. F.)

THE FIRST DEATH. [At sea, S/S *America* (called *Columbia*), Christmas Eve, Christmas Night, Dec. 28; San Juan, Nicaragua, Dec. 29; Greytown, Nicaragua, Jan. 1, 1867. Letter 4.]
Alta California, v. 19, Mar. 15, 1867.
(Walker-Dane, 34-45.)

1867

THE TWIN MOUNTAINS. [S/S *San Francisco*, New Year's Day. Letter 5.]
Alta California, v. 19, Mar. 16.
(Walker-Dane, 46-57.)

UNDER WAY AGAIN. [At sea, S/S *San Francisco*, Jan. 1; Key West, Jan. 6. Letter 6.]
Alta California, v. 19, Mar. 17.
(Walker-Dane, 58-68, in part: a short omission is summarized, p. 283.)

KEY WEST. [Key West, Jan. 6; New York, Jan. 12. Letter 7.]
Alta California, v. 19, Mar. 23.
(Walker-Dane, 69-81.)

"MARK TWAIN" IN NEW YORK. THE OVERGROWN METROPOLIS. [New York, Feb. 2. Letter 8.]
Alta California, v. 19, Mar. 28.
(Walker-Dane, 82-89, in part: one short section, headed "Gossip," is omitted but is summarized, p. 284.)

"MARK TWAIN" IN NEW YORK. MY ANCIENT FRIENDS THE POLICE. [New York, Feb. 18. Letter 9.]
Alta California, v. 19, Mar. 30.
(Walker-Dane, 90-100, in part: a short omission is summarized, p. 285.)

"MARK TWAIN" IN NEW YORK. THE DREADFUL RUSSIAN BATH. [New York, Feb. 23. Letter 10.]
Alta California, v. 19, Apr. 5.
(Walker-Dane, 101-110, in part: a short omission is summarized, p. 285.)

THE WINNER OF THE MEDAL. [Clemens's subtitle for the *Mercury* piece editorially headed "The Brand-New Yankee Gentleman."] New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, Mar. 3.
(*Twainian*, v. 2: 2-4, May, 1943.)

A CURTAIN LECTURE CONCERNING SKATING. [Clemens's subtitle for the *Mercury* piece editorially headed "Private Theatricals." Seemingly written between Feb. 2 and Mar. 3.]
New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, Mar. 17.
(*Twainian*, v. 3: 4-5, Dec., 1943.)

BARBAROUS.

New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, Mar. 24.

"MARK TWAIN" IN NEW YORK. GRAND EUROPEAN PLEASURE TRIP. [New York, Mar. 2. Letter 11.]
Alta California, v. 19, Apr. 9.
(Walker-Dane, 111-121.)

"MARK TWAIN" ON BARNUM. [Probably written shortly after Mar. 1, the date of Clemens's visit to Barnum's museum. Extant in the *Alta California* as a reprint from the New York *Express*. n. d.]
Alta California, v. 19, Apr. 10.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE. VIEWS OF MARK TWAIN.

St. Louis *Daily Missouri Democrat*, v. 15, Mar. 12.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE. A VOLLEY FROM THE DOWN-TRODDEN. A DEFENSE.

St. Louis *Daily Missouri Democrat*, v. 15, Mar. 13.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE. THE INIQUITOUS CRUSADE AGAINST MAN'S REGAL BIRTHRIGHT MUST BE CRUSHED. ANOTHER LETTER FROM MARK TWAIN.

St. Louis *Daily Missouri Democrat*, v. 15, Mar. 15.

"MARK TWAIN" IN ST. LOUIS. HAPPY. [St. Louis, Mar. 15. Letter 12.]

Alta California, v. 19, May 13.
(Walker-Dane, 122-130.)

LETTER FROM MARK TWAIN. CRUELTY TO STRANGERS.

St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican*, v. 45, Mar. 17.

FROM MARK TWAIN. EXPLANATORY. [Letter to the editor of the *Republican*, announcing a St. Louis lecture.]

St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican*, v. 45, Mar. 24.
(Frear, App. D5(3); Walker-Dane, 287: a short quotation.)

Advertisement for St. Louis lecture (Mar. 25, 1867.)

(Frear, Chap. 12, in part.)

AT HOME AGAIN. [St. Louis, Mar. 25. Letter 13.]

Alta California, v. 19, May 19.
(Walker-Dane, 131-140.)

FEMALE SUFFRAGE. [Clemens's subtitle for the *Mercury* piece editorially headed "Petticoat Government."]

New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, Apr. 7.

MARK TWAIN AND JOHN SMITH. [Letters written by Clemens advertising his lecture of Apr. 9 in Quincy.]

Quincy (Ill.) *Herald*, v. 16, Apr. 9.

(Frear, App. D5(4); *Twainian*, v. 1: 2-3, May, 1939.)

OFFICIAL PHYSIC. [Clemens's subtitle for the *Mercury* piece editorially headed "Regulation Regimen."]

New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, Apr. 21.

(*Twainian*, v. 3: 4-6, Nov., 1943.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from New York, Apr. 15.]

(Paine, 312, in part: quoted briefly.)

NOTABLE THINGS IN ST. LOUIS. [New York, Apr. 16. Letter 14.]

Alta California, v. 19, May 26.

(Walker-Dane, 141-148.)

THE MORMONS. [New York, Apr. 19. Letter 15.]

Alta California, v. 19, June 2.

(Walker-Dane, 149-158, in part: a short omission is summarized, p. 289.)

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS. [New York, Apr. 30. Letter 16.]

Alta California, v. 19, June 10.

(Walker-Dane, 159-166.)

Letter. [To Bret Harte, from the Westminster Hotel, New York, May 1.]

(*Letters*, 124.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and family, from the Westminster Hotel, New York, May 1.]

(*Letters*, 124.)

Prospectus for first New York lecture (May 6, 1867).

(Frear, App. D6; Paine, opposite p. 316, in part.)

JEFF. DAVIS. [New York, May 17. Letter 17.]

Alta California, v. 19, June 16.

(Walker-Dane, 167-179.)

THE NUISANCE OF ADVICE. [New York, May 18. Letter 18.]

Alta California, v. 19, June 23.

(Walker-Dane, 180-191, in part: a short omission is summarized, p. 292.)

- CALIFORNIA WINES. [New York, May 19. Letter 19.]
Alta California, v. 19, June 30.
 (Walker-Dane, 192-201, in part: a short omission is summarized, p. 292.)
- FOR CHRISTIANS TO READ. [New York, May 20. Letter 20.]
Alta California, v. 19, July 7.
 (Walker-Dane, 202-213.)
- THE BLIND ASYLUM. [New York, May 23. Letter 21.]
Alta California, v. 19, July 14.
 (Walker-Dane, 214-225.)
- THE SEX IN NEW YORK. [New York, May 26. Letter 22.]
Alta California, v. 19, July 21.
 (Walker-Dane, 226-237.)
- ACADEMY OF DESIGN. [New York, May 28. Letter 23.]
Alta California, v. 19, July 28.
 (Walker-Dane, 238-248.)
- Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens, from New York, May 29.]
 (Paine, 321, in part: a brief quotation.)
- Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and family, from the Westminster Hotel, New York, June 1.]
 (*Letters*, 125-126.)
- THE DOMES OF THE YOSEMITE. [New York, June 2. Letter 24.]
Alta California, v. 19, Aug. 4.
 (Walker-Dane, 249-258.)
- A REMINISCENCE OF ARTEMUS WARD. [Clemens's subtitle for the *Mercury* piece editorially headed: "Though Dead, yet Speak-eth."]
 New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, July 7.
 (*Sketches New and Old*, 334-338, as "First Interview with Artemus Ward.")
- JIM WOLF AND THE TOM CATS.
 New York *Sunday Mercury*, v. 29, July 14.
- NEW YORK. [New York, June 5. Letter 25.]
Alta California, v. 19, Aug. 11.
 (Walker-Dane, 259-269.)
- HARRY HILL'S. [New York, June 6. Letter 26.]
Alta California, v. 19, Aug. 18.
 (Walker-Dane, 270-279.)

Letter. [To Mrs. Jane Clemens and family, from New York, June 7.]

(*Letters*, 127-128.)

Letter. [To Will Bowen, from the Westminster Hotel, New York, June 7.]

(Hornberger, 15-16.)

Four notebooks. [In the papers of the Mark Twain Estate. These were begun during Clemens's San Francisco period and were continued up to the *Quaker City* excursion of June 8, 1867. Paine printed only a small part of them.]

NOTES AND QUERIES

MARK TWAIN'S IDEA OF STORY STRUCTURE

GEORGE FEINSTEIN

University of North Dakota

CLEMENS'S CONCEPTION of story form departs sharply from the views sanctified by critical tradition. He opposes a studied perfection of plot, favors instead a loose, spontaneous development of narrative. ". . . narrative should flow as flows the brook down through the hills and the leafy woodlands, its course changed by every boulder."¹ The customary narrative stream he likens to a canal: ". . . it moves slowly, smoothly, decorously, sleepily, it has no blemish except that it is all blemish. It is too literary, too prim, too nice; the gait and style and movement are not suited to narrative."² The basic notion is venerable: *Ars est artem celare*. But the novelty is that Mark Twain, with a humorist's sensitivity, is unprecedentedly alive to what he considers to be formal, therefore planned and undesirable, effects in story construction. Ideal narration, he insists, is natural and informal, like life or talk.

A tale then must grow organically, from within, or the artificiality will show. It must "tell itself," the author simply holding the pen. Lacking such spontaneous origin it becomes "a piece of pure literary manufacture and has the shopmarks all over it."³ His own method, he tells us, is to take some characters, one or two incidents, and a locality, plunge them together hopefully, and listen to the story as it goes along, spreading itself into a book.⁴ To compose like this requires a gift, he admits; but the ungifted should not write novels.

¹ *Autobiography*, XXXVI, 237. The law of narrative, Mark Twain adds in significant italics, "has no law." Here and in later notes the volume number, unless otherwise indicated, refers to *The Writings of Mark Twain* (Stormfield ed., 37 vols., New York, 1929).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Mark Twain in Eruption* (New York, 1940), p. 244.

⁴ *Those Extraordinary Twins*, XVI, 207 ff. Twain blithely describes how he pruned his story of the twins from *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Imperfections in this literary surgery are described in the present writer's article, "Vestigia in Pudd'nhead Wilson," *The Twainian*, I, 1-3 (May, 1942).

The sacredness of story structure, which Twain has in effect challenged, is rooted in Aristotelian theory. It appears in the modern period in the short story tradition of Irving-Poe-Hawthorne. A main action, with beginning, middle, and end, a dominating character, a complication, a climax—these historic essentials get scant homage in Clemens's criticism and practice. "The world," he says, "grows tired of solid forms in all the arts."⁵ Poe's theory of unity of effect—every atom of plot to be streamlined and irreplaceable—is largely ignored. Manifestly, Twain's anomalous stricture on the disconnected episodes in the *Deerslayer* proceeds rather from his failure to feel any real inner psychological movement linking that novel's episodes than from any actual aesthetic impulse toward external unity.⁶

Compression, tonal unity, the three unities of French classic drama—none of these are inviolable. Clemens's one consideration is that a story, an experience, be given the reader; "the how of it is not important."⁷ "The Jumping Frog," "Adam's Diary," "Eve's Diary," and the "McWilliams" stories present not plots but rather situations. These stories are rambling and amorphous, vitalized chiefly by their mass of human quirks and small incident—they illustrate their author's conviction that execution transcends design. Again, his indifference to arbitrary canons governing story structure is marked in "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" and "The Stolen White Elephant"; it is egregious in the final chapters of *Huckleberry Finn*.

Mark Twain values, not the architectonic effect of a tale, but the art of the paragraph, the sentence, the illuminating incident. Journalism has furnished him the training. As critic he knows well, and demands, the spicy fare—humor, pathos, variety—which holds a newsreader's eye. His own humor, born of journalism, is in essence paragraphic, episodic, inconsequential; like the humor of Cervantes, Rabelais, and Sterne it shuns symmetrical pattern as a violation of its nature. The spirit of this humor has helped to shape his notion of structure. Characteristically, as coeditor of the *Library*

⁵ *Speeches*, XXVIII, 193-194.

⁶ ". . . the episodes of a tale shall be necessary parts of the tale, and shall help to develop it. But as the *Deerslayer* tale is not a tale, and accomplishes nothing and arrives nowhere, the episodes have no rightful place in the work, since there was nothing for them to develop" ("Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences," XXII, 61).

⁷ *Autobiography*, XXXVI, 237.

of *Humor* anthology he shuffles Howells's sequential arrangement to suit his own whim.⁸

Form for Clemens is ideally the externalization of an author's thinking. Thinking is personal, informal, digressive; so for him these traits inform honest writing in all genres. In autobiography, he particularly recommends discursiveness, the free play of fancy. A thing recollected should be jammed in as it occurs to the memoirist, not put into an earlier chapter.⁹ He anticipates stream-of-consciousness portraiture, notably in the garrulousness of characters like Jim Blaine in *Roughing It*,¹⁰ but specifically in his theory of autobiography. In ideal autobiography, things of the present are to be juxtaposed with "memories of like things in the past."¹¹ "*The thing uppermost in a person's mind* is the thing to talk about or write about."¹² He holds that "sleeping or waking, dreaming or talking, the thoughts which swarm through our heads are almost constantly, almost continuously, accompanied by a like swarm of reminders of incidents and episodes of our past."¹³ To our inner consciousness big incidents and little incidents have the same size.¹⁴ A man's life really consists mainly of his feelings and interests, he asserts;¹⁵ thus the autobiographer's herculean job is to reflect "the storm of thoughts that is forever blowing through one's head."¹⁶

Since literary work is so closely attuned to the author's mental processes, its form clearly becomes an individual matter. The difficulty, as Clemens sees it, is to get properly started—that is, to ascertain the sole form so natural to the writer's mentality that the work will slide effortlessly from his pen.¹⁷ Literary form is plainly for him a function of personality rather than of genre. Significantly, his own best essays and short stories, products of the nineties, are

⁸ Described by William Dean Howells in his *My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticism* (New York, 1910), pp. 17-18.

⁹ *Letters*, XXXIV, 379. Autobiographers foolishly injure their books by rewriting and revising, he warns his brother Orion.

¹⁰ IV, 98-104.

¹¹ *Autobiography*, XXXVI, 193.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 327.

¹³ Uncollected autobiography, *North American Review*, CLXXXV, 695-696 (August, 1907).

¹⁴ *Autobiography*, XXXVI, 288.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 283. A strong flavor of Laurence Sterne appears also in Twain's statement immediately following: "Therefore a full autobiography has never been written, and it never will be. It would consist of 365 double-size volumes per year. . . ."

¹⁷ *Letters*, XXXV, 665.

animated by an identical, and idiosyncratic, spirit and method—a method apparently of methodlessness; and the form of *Life on the Mississippi* belongs not to history, or travels, or novel—simply to Mark Twain.

AN EARLY HOWELLS LETTER

F. C. MARSTON, JR.

Brown University

IN MILDRED HOWELLS'S selective edition of her father's letters, the first is one of October, 1857. There is extant, however, one dated half a year earlier, which is not only the earliest Howells letter preserved, I believe, but also a very characteristic document. The manuscript is now in the possession of Mr. William Dean Howells II of Youngstown, Ohio, by whose kind permission it is reprinted here.

In the winter of 1857 young Howells sent a daily "Letter from Columbus" to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, reporting the activities of the State Legislature. His work pleased the *Gazette* so well that he was invited to become "city editor, which then meant the local reporting, at a salary twice as great as that which I had been getting as their legislative correspondent"¹—that is, he would receive \$1000 a year.² The following letter, addressed to his older brother Joseph, records his first reactions to the life which in later years he recalled as "a few weeks of . . . suffering."³

Cincinnati April 10, 1857

My dear brother,

As this is merely a letter of congratulation, you will not expect it to be of any great length. I think it peculiarly fortunate that your *son* should be a *boy*—which is a sad bull, but may serve to express my delight that your *boy* is not a *girl*. (Girls are not the thing till they get to be about seventeen or eighteen years old.) Let me felicitate you upon your fatherhood, while I beg to be most warmly and affectionately remembered to your wife *and family*. (And family! sir, don't that make you expand a little?) You must name the young gentleman *entirely* for me. I won't share the honor with father.

¹ W. D. Howells, *Years of My Youth* (New York and London, c. 1916), p. 140.

² W. D. Howells, *My Literary Passions* (New York and London, c. 1891), p. 125.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

For myself, here, I am as little settled, yet, as a house that is partly moved out of and partly moved into. I lodge in Mr. Babb's chamber for the present, and eat at a restaurant. I like this mode of living very well; but it will of course be better to go to a hotel or boarding-house, after while [*sic*]. I find that I can board myself at a restaurant for about three dollars a week; and for my lodgement, why as long as I use Mr. Babb's room, bed and *blacking*, it is not likely to cost me much. B. has been untiringly kind and attentive to me; and I believe I shall like my place very well. Already, I am grown fond of this big bustling city. The everlasting and furious rushing up and down, and to and fro, pleases me; and I like nothing better than to stroll about the streets alone, and stealthily contemplate the shop windows and orange stands, and speculate on the people I meet. I have been down to the river nearly every day; but have not seen any of our uncles' boats. The Ohio is pretty well up; but there are not a great many boats at the north.

So far, I have been engaged on the news department, helping Babb. I suppose they will gradually work me into the locals' place. Already I have done some little itemizing; and have corrected the Mss. of the present incumbent, whose writings have all to be reviewed before they get into the paper.

I will write you often. Give my love to all your folks, and tell Harvey that he will hear from me soon. Write to your affectionate brother

WILL.

The son mentioned in the first paragraph was duly named William Dean Howells II, so Will had his wish. Babb was Edmund B. Babb, for many years an editor of the *Gazette*; Howells remembered him as a small, scholarly man devoted to journalism—and his only friend in Cincinnati. The uncles were his mother's brothers, for one of whom Howells was named. The "Harvey" of the last paragraph was Harvey Green, who had long worked for Will's father and lived with the Howells family; between Joe and Will in age, he was the companion of both.

The patronizing air of the next-to-last paragraph hardly needs comment; but Howells did not "gradually work into the locals' place" as he expected to. Although he enjoyed speculating on the people he met, he was miserably uncomfortable in the occasionally sordid contacts needed for reporting about them. He discovered that reporting was not his forte, and he left the position early in the summer. Decades later he regretted that he had not stayed

"and learned in the school of reality the many lessons of human nature which it could have taught me."⁴ But he could not stay; and this letter, revealing his romantic, even sentimental, temperament at the age of twenty, helps explain why.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

At the annual meeting of the American Literature Group in December, 1945, the Advisory Council instructed the Bibliographers to explore the possibilities of compiling and publishing a cumulative check list of articles on American literature which have so far appeared in learned publications. The enterprise is jointly shared by the Library of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America. It is under the direction of Lewis Leary (Duke University), Chairman of the Committee on Bibliography for the Group. The check list will incorporate all items listed in "Articles on American Literature in Current Periodicals" which have appeared in *American Literature* (1929-1946), together with articles listed in Norman Foerster, ed., *The Re-interpretation of American Literature* (1928), and those listed in the annual bibliography of *PMLA* and in *Studies in Philology* prior to the publication of the quarterly lists in *American Literature*. The list thus compiled will be issued as a book, in format corresponding to that used for *American Literature*, and will be published by the Duke University Press.

The book will be offered for sale at the cost of publication. In order to make provision for a sufficient number of copies, advance subscriptions are solicited. They may be registered directly with the Duke University Press. The book will be offered to students at a special price.

THOMAS H. JOHNSON, *Bibliographer*.

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1946 a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special sub-

⁴ *Years of My Youth*, p. 141.

scription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Robert Frost as a Teacher. Mildred Larson (New York University, Education).

Social Thought in the Work of Ernest Hemingway. James M. Edmunds (New York University, Education).

James Huneker's Dramatic Criticism, Particularly That in the New York *Sun* after 1902. Helen C. Hoffman (New York University).

Thomas Jefferson's Education for a Democracy. Calvin Barlieb (New York University, Education).

Sarah Orne Jewett and Her Contemporaries: A Study of New England Life and Culture from 1870 to 1900. Perry D. Westbrook (Columbia).

Redburn and Herman Melville's Early Life. William H. Gilman (Yale).

The Contribution of Robert Emmet Sherwood to the Modern American Theater. Charles F. Edgecomb (New York University, Education).

Henry David Thoreau as an Educator. Anton M. Huffert (New York University, Education).

Walt Whitman, Educator for Democracy: The Value of the Writings of Walt Whitman for the Teacher of English. Reginald White (Stanford University, Education).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

Changing Conceptions of Palestine in American Literature to 1900. Samuel H. Levine (New York University).

The Evaluation and Teaching of Literature of the American Negro. John Stapleton Lash (Michigan, Education).

The Historical Development of the American Cook Book. Minna Engelbery (New York University, Education).

Informal Education of Women through Magazines in the Nineteenth Century, 1840-1860. Eleanor Thompson (Columbia, Education).

The Novel in the Modern American Theater. Frank Fowler. (Columbia).

A Study of Runs of American Plays in London and British Plays in New York to Find Common Elements of Success and Failure. Katherine Boyd (Columbia).

III. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Mr. Robert F. Stowell, 3 Forest Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is compiling a complete atlas of American literature. Original maps by authors, as in the case of Thoreau, or maps that are contemporary with the authors and their books will be used wherever possible. Topographic views will also be included. Mr. Stowell would welcome suggestions about material for possible inclusion.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

BOOK REVIEWS

MARK TWAIN, BUSINESS MAN. Edited by Samuel Charles Webster. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 1946. xii, 409 pp. \$4.00.

No single volume since Clara Clemens's *My Father, Mark Twain* has even approached this one in the number of intimate letters made public. In addition to the mass of business correspondence with Charles Webster, the book includes a number of new letters to, and by, members of the humorist's family, and restores the full text of others which A. B. Paine expurgated. The question for the student is, How much of this information is really fresh?

So far as Mark Twain's connection with the Webster Publishing Company is concerned, the answer is, Comparatively little. We already knew that he was impulsive and temperamental, a hard man to work with; that he was always trying to do a dozen things at once. The correspondence with Webster merely elaborates those facts, showing that besides running the publishing business Webster was expected to manage all his employer's other enterprises, to serve as errand boy, and even to superintend the heating plant in the Hartford house. It is now plain why the long-suffering Webster ultimately broke under the strain.

The real additions and corrections to the record come from the family correspondence, and from the reminiscences of the editor's mother, Annie Moffett Webster. Besides Mrs. Webster, Mark Twain's parents, his sister Pamela, and Orion and his wife, Mollie Stotts Clemens, emerge in clearer outline than before, and some of Paine's most romantic details of the humorist's youth suffer a deflation which extends to the conclusions drawn from them by the psychoanalytical critics.

Jane Lampton Clemens, for instance, was by no means a Puritan. Rather, she was a happy-go-lucky Southerner whose sense of responsibility is illustrated by the advice she once gave her granddaughter: "Don't learn to do anything you don't like to do, because if you don't know how to do it, you'll always find someone who does." Annie Webster remembered no theological rigor in her grandmother, and the Webster account of Jane Clemens's senility seems to ruin the legend of her unhappy youthful love for Dr. Barrett. At the time Jane Clemens told that story she was also telling the neighbors that Pamela had been stolen by Indians at the age of five and had never been seen since. The tale becomes a very shaky peg on which to hang the conclusion that Jane's marriage to John Clemens was loveless, though Mr. Webster remarks elsewhere that she married because she "was in a hurry to get away from her stepmother."

Another deflated tale is Mark Twain's encounter with the New Orleans fortune-teller, Madame Caprell. It now appears that one of the most garrulous of his Hannibal neighbors had sent him to Mme Caprell, whose uncanny insight into his past therefore derived from the usual charlatan's source, other people's talk. The same portion of the correspondence reveals the name of Laura Dake, with whom Mark Twain was briefly in love during his river days, and who may be the origin of the name of Laura Hawkins in *The Gilded Age*. "Almost any time Uncle Sam mentioned a female in a letter," remarks Mr. Webster, "Mr. Paine would duck." It may be noted also that the family never quite believed their uncle's story of James Lampton's dinner of raw turnips.

Mr. Webster's items from his great-uncle's earliest extant notebook carry the latter's pessimistic moods back to an even more youthful period than does his correspondence with Mrs. Fairbanks. Letters from Jane Clemens reveal that Horace Bixby borrowed money from his former cub, and balked over paying it when due, a fact which may have a bearing on Bixby's later assertion that Sam was not a good pilot. The genesis of Orion's alleged autobiography is explained in a way which renders its factual value decidedly suspect. Further evidence that the Langdons were anything but the conventional bourgeoisie of legend is furnished when we learn that Frederick Douglass was their house guest in Elmira. Finally, the book piles up superabundant proof of the factual unreliability of the *Autobiography*. Perhaps Mr. Webster resents too much the slurs on his father in *Mark Twain in Eruption*, but if those hadn't been published, Mr. Webster might never have been spurred into preparing this book.

Brooklyn College.

DELANCEY FERGUSON.

IDEAS IN AMERICA. By Howard Mumford Jones. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1944. ix, 304 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Jones has reprinted from various journals and magazines thirteen addresses arranged under three general captions: "The Need for Literary History"; "Studies in the History of Ideas in America" (including scholarly papers such as "American Prose Style: 1700-1770," "The Drift to Liberalism in the American Eighteenth Century," and "European Ideas in Nineteenth-Century America"); and "Responsibilities of Contemporary American Literature." The papers under the second caption are especially stimulating in their many-sided suggestiveness. Mr. Jones remarks that "the central idea" of the book as a whole is that "a mature interpretation of our own intellectual and cultural history ought to be one of the important concerns . . . of American scholarship"; he does not

desire "to drive Europe out of the colleges" but to "insist upon the necessity of putting America in" as a means of providing "a living core of interest around which the liberal college could once more be given a vital unity" and our students "a far richer and more comprehensive knowledge of the American heritage." The broader emphasis on America *in relation to* "the influence of European ideas" and the backgrounds of European history including that of non-English racial groups here provides a comprehensive and liberally inclusive approach which can readily be harmonized with such recent suggestions as those in Professor Carleton Hayes's presidential address ("The American Frontier—Frontier of What?") in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1946. Indeed Mr. Jones's own rich knowledge of European ideas, especially French and German, enables him to emphasize the nonisolationist, non-chauvinistic approach very effectively and to make a great number of illuminating hypotheses based on the convergencies and divergencies of European and American ideas when studied comparatively. And the approach seems to me a needed corrective to excessive emphasis on regionalism and an exclusively environmental and "economic determinism" which Mr. Jones attacks. And it seems to me that much might be gained if our foreign-language departments would try to include in their offerings courses in the detailed history of the ways and means of the impact of foreign cultures on ours; for in any comprehensive study of American civilization the student ought to know of our varying debts to the cultures of classical antiquity, the ancient East, the Middle Ages, Germany, France, Spain, and, last but not least, England, and how these cultural importations were modified by the American environment and assimilated to produce what now constitutes American civilization. Such an approach might help to make the study of European cultural history come alive and give it timely purpose, especially at this time when so much is said of the need for international harmony, mutual understanding, and the vast importance of implementing the ideals of the United Nations. I need not remind the members of our Group, who listened to the delivery of several of these papers, of Mr. Jones's distinctive qualifications for his role—of his personal forcefulness and superb rhetoric, his zest and wit in debate, and his earnestness and far-ranging learning devoted to purposeful humane ends.

With this commendation of Mr. Jones's over-all objective and his great ability, however, I trust I may be permitted to say just a word about comparatively trivial matters of detailed interpretation, with special reference to the paper on "The Drift to Liberalism in the American Eighteenth Century," perhaps the most stimulating in this book. It is understandable, of course, that in addressing the celebrators of the august Har-

vard Tercentenary,¹ Mr. Jones should have wished to make the most of our debt to the New England Calvinists, especially in the case of individualism and the cluster of ideas associated with Transcendentalism. It seems to me, however, that the occasion and Mr. Jones's enthusiasm have led him to be unduly scornful of the interpretation of the age of Jefferson, Paine, and Freneau as a "transition" from Puritanism to the age of Romanticism (a term whose use he sanctions in six different senses [pp. 110-111]). Since he frankly admits that "the universe of the transcendentalist differs *toto caelo* from the Newtonian world-machine; and the deistic view of human nature contradicts at every turn that of high Calvinism," and he says he does "not wish to confuse these clear distinctions" (p. 119), it would seem (since, by whatever means, America did proceed historically from central emphasis on Calvinism to Deism [as associated with The Enlightenment], to Transcendentalism) that there must surely have been a "transition," as I once called it. I tried to emphasize the fact that as a spokesman of this "transition" Freneau was "a bundle of contradictions," that he shows affiliations with *both* the age of Pope and the age of Wordsworth, and I specified some eight instances illustrating these contradictions to show how gradual the transition was. (I reprinted this central passage from my *Poems of Freneau*, pp. 1-11, in my *Major American Poets*, pp. 782-783, to make my emphasis even clearer.) If Mr. Jones now objects to interpreting the age of Jefferson and Paine as a "transition," it is interesting to observe that elsewhere (*America and French Culture*, p. 368) Mr. Jones himself heartily agreed with Faÿ that in this period "a profound change was being wrought in American religious and intellectual life." It does not seem worth while to quibble over the difference between a "transition" and a "profound change," and I merely refer the reader to my Introduction to *Paine* (1944) and to my study of "The Influence of Science on American Ideas, from 1775 to 1809" (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XXXV, 305-349, 1944) for more evidence for the interpretation with which Mr. Jones disagrees. It seems to me that one must consider not merely attitudes toward "the cosmos *qua* cosmos," but what I called the increasing "emphasis upon nature over the Bible as a *primary* guide to conduct, upon reason and science over the 'religious affections' (the heart) as stressed by Puritans such as Edwards, and upon faith that the masses were sufficiently altruistic to be entrusted with their own gov-

¹ This paper was originally printed in the volume devoted to the Harvard Tercentenary Celebration entitled *Authority and the Individual* (1937), which includes other papers of interest to our Group such as C. M. Andrews's "Conservative Factors in Colonial History," John Dewey's "Authority and Social Change," and E. S. Corwin's "The Constitution as Instrument and as Symbol."

ernment" (*Transactions*, p. 317). It is interesting to note that the passage which Mr. Jones quotes from Calvin's *Institutes* urging the study of nature via science as a divine revelation is followed by a whole chapter whose theme is indicated by the title (Book II, Chapter VI): "The Guidance and Teaching of the Scriptures Necessary to Lead to the Knowledge of God the Creator." "Vain, therefore," says Calvin, "is the light afforded us in the formation of the world to illustrate the glory of its Author, which is insufficient to conduct us in the right way." Mr. Jones tries to refute what I am supposed to have said by showing that writers before Freneau *et al.* said that the creation reveals the creator. Now if the reader will turn to my *Poems of Freneau* (p. xxxvii), he will find that Mr. Jones's phrase "this sort of thing" refers to the clause immediately following, which is a quotation from Paine saying "all other Bibles and Testaments [except nature] are . . . forgeries." By the omission of this key clause my meaning was quite distorted, unintentionally I am sure, by making me seem to say that the idea that the creation reveals the creator "would annoy Presbyterians," whereas I was discussing the relative importance of *nature* and the Bible to "conduct us in the right way," as Calvin put it. Naturally I second Mr. Jones's plea that we do more "penitential reading" in Puritanism, which he admits rather significantly did not in America "yield" belles-lettres (p. 20); but since Freneau, Jefferson, and Paine were very emphatic in their rejection of Puritanism, I do not see how a study of the latter will help much in understanding their ideas, and I should like to supplement Mr. Jones by urging at least an equally careful study of the age of Jefferson, whose importance in the birth of the nation would not seem to call for defense. It may be difficult to prove that deism, the religious philosophy of that age, "failed to make any lasting impression on the national mind" (Jones, p. 121).

I trust, however, that I have made clear my hearty admiration for the main theme of Mr. Jones's book as a whole, the general international approach to American civilization he advocates so eloquently and persuasively.

University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

SAM SLICK IN TEXAS. By W. Stanley Hoole. San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company. 1945. xix, 78 pp. \$2.00.

This biography and critical evaluation of Samuel Adams Hammett (1816-1865) adds a number of new and useful details to the history of American humor. Hammett (pen names Philip Paxton and Sam Slick) was a contributor to various magazines and the author of several humorous books—*A Stray Yankee in Texas* (1853), *The Wonderful Adventures*

of *Captain Priest* (1855), and *Piney Woods Tavern* (1858). His books, as Mr. Hoole says, show him to be "an excellent representative of the scores of early American humorists who sprang up in the South and Southwest a decade or two before the Civil War"—a school worthy of a high place in American literary history. However, the details about Hammett's life and work somehow have not been, heretofore, very carefully collected.

Mr. Hoole has shown enviable persistence and care in searching out the hitherto hidden records of Hammett's career, and he has set them forth at length. The only criticism of the book, as a matter of fact, may be that the account is presented somewhat more at length than the author's actual findings justify. A good many details which he has used are drawn directly from Hammett's semiautobiographical works, and (as painstaking study of Melville's biography has shown) a biographer may easily be misled if he accepts data thus set forth as authentic. Granting, however, that some of Mr. Hoole's guesses to fill in a scant record are dubious, this is a very readable and usable account of an author who has been unduly neglected. As the copious quotations from Hammett's books attest, this is a humorist well worth knowing and studying. The foreword by Professor J. Frank Dobie adds an interesting estimate of Hammett's achievements.

The University of Chicago.

WALTER BLAIR.

THE HISTORY OF SEATTLE STOCK COMPANIES: *From Their Beginnings to 1934*. By Mary Katherine Rohrer. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1945. 76 pp. \$2.25.

This brief treatise is a factual recital of the rise, height, and fall of the stock companies in Seattle. In addition to the three chapters of text there are appendices which list the theaters, companies, and plays and their runs during the period from 1890 to 1934. Such a statistical record serves the useful purpose of extending our knowledge of stage history in this country and tells a short life-story of theatrical stock which must be typical of many communities: the rise in the nineteenth century and the eclipse by the motion picture in the twentieth.

Although one must acknowledge the helpfulness of such a careful compilation of data, yet one misses in this account the flavor and impact of the theater: there are very few glimpses into the plays, little or no characterization of the actors, meager accounts of the artistic values involved. It is as though the writer had seen or read none of the plays, but had based her book wholly on newspaper and program data. A comparison of Miss Rohrer's treatment with that by Odell (in *Annals of the New York Stage*) clearly brings out this point.

Another weakness of Miss Rohrer's book is her tendency to accept local newspaper criticism at its face value; quotations from favorable current reviews are cited, and no effort is made to determine whether this praise, often unstinted, is justified. Other minor defects are insufficient narrative transition at places and failure to substantiate the point (p. 6) regarding the similarity of Seattle's theatrical taste to that of the rest of the country.

It is interesting to note in Miss Rohrer's study that Seattle saw about 1200 plays in forty-four years of stock and that among the most popular productions were *The Count of Monte Cristo*, *East Lynne*, *The Octoroon*, *Ten Nights in a Barroom*, *The Two Orphans*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

This book is the second in a series of publications in drama, brought out by the University of Washington Press, under the direction of Glenn Hughes. We are indebted to him for the sponsorship of these publications and to Miss Rohrer for filling in a gap in our stage record.

Bucknell University.

ALLAN G. HALLINE.

SUPERNATURAL HORROR IN LITERATURE. By Howard Phillips Lovecraft. With an Introduction by August Derleth. New York: Ben Abramson. 1945. 106 pp. \$2.50.

To trace the element of supernatural horror through the literature of the world from the time of the "Book of Enoch" and "The Claviculae of Solomon" would seem to be a task requiring volumes, but the author of this study has packed it into a monograph containing less than one hundred pages. And he has omitted nothing important. According to his index he has recorded and criticized some 250 horror books and tales. One's first impression is that it is a remarkable piece of literary compression. The fact that it was first published as a serial in the little magazine *Fantasy Fan* kept it perhaps within restricted limits.

The writer of the introduction, August Derleth, himself a leading writer of horror literature, mentions the author of the book, H. P. Lovecraft, as the late "recluse of Providence," author of a single volume, a weird collection, *The Outsiders and Others*, 1938, a work unnoticed save by a small coterie. The present study, written in 1933, was a part of that collection.

That the article was again deemed worthy of republication, this time as a critical monograph, shows good judgment on the part of its editor. It is a brilliant piece of criticism. The author starts with a limiting definition and holds to it to the end:

The true weird tale has something more than secret murder, bloody bones, or a sheeted form clanking chains according to rule. A certain atmosphere of breathless and unexplainable dread of the outer, unknown forces must be present; and there must be a hint, expressed with seriousness and portentousness becoming its subject, of that most terrible conception of the human brain—a malign and particular suspension or defeat of those fixed laws of Nature which are our only safeguard against the assaults of chaos and the daemons of unplumbed space.

The study, which is in eight parts, concerns itself with the evolution of supernatural horror in literature from the era of jungle horror and superstition to the science-minded present. Always can an age be classified by the elements in its terror tales. For instance, the eighteenth century, especially in its English ideals and atmospheres, lives embalmed in a few shuddery tales. Out of no other century could have come the Gothic romance. Here are its elements:

This novel dramatic paraphernalia consisted first of all of the Gothic castle, with its awesome antiquity, vast distances and ramblings, deserted or ruined wings, damp corridors, unwholesome hidden catacombs, and galaxy of ghosts and appalling legends, as a nucleus of suspense and daemoniac fright. In addition, it included the tyrannical and malevolent nobleman as villain; the saintly, long-persecuted, and generally insipid heroine who undergoes the major terrors and serves as a point of view and focus for the reader's sympathies; the valorous and immaculate hero, always of high birth but often of humble disguise; the convention of high-sounding foreign names, mostly Italian, for the characters; and the infinite array of stage properties which includes strange lights, damp trapdoors, extinguished lamps, mouldy hidden manuscripts, creaking hinges, shaking arras, and the like.

From "The Early Gothic Novel," the "Apex of Gothic Romance," "The Aftermath of Gothic Fiction," and a review of "Spectral Literature on the Continent," the author makes his way to America, lingering longest with Hawthorne and Poe. Both worked with materials from "The Weird Tradition in America," prominent in its Puritanism transported into the wilderness and allowed to run wild.

In Hawthorne we have none of the violence, the daring, the high colouring, the intense dramatic sense, the cosmic malignity, and the undivided and impersonal artistry of Poe. Here instead is a gentle soul cramped by the Puritanism of early New England; shadowed and wistful, and grieved at an unmoral universe which everywhere transcends the conventional patterns thought by our forefathers to represent divine and immutable law.

To Poe he gives more space than to any other writer. Thus he sums him up: "Whatever his limitations, Poe did that which no one else ever did or could have done; and to him we owe the modern horror story in its final and perfected state."

After Poe more and more brilliant artistry was required to hold a reader to the end of a supernatural horror tale. In his final chapter Lovecraft's "Modern Masters" are all skilled technicians. Heading the group he places Arthur Machen:

Of living creators of cosmic fear raised to its most artistic pitch, few if any can hope to equal the versatile Arthur Machen, author of some dozen tales long and short, in which the elements of hidden horror and brooding fright attain an almost incomparable substance and realistic acuteness.

As to the future of the genre the critic ventures no prophecy.

Rollins College.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

SUPPLEMENT I: *The American Language*. By H. L. Mencken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. xv, 739, xxxv. pp. \$5.00.

In 1918 H. L. Mencken stimulated and provoked the study of American English by a nervy little volume called *The American Language*. It was marked by the common sense and the trust-busting spirit of the best newspaper reporters in the muckraking era. Mencken's big stick belabored the conservers of tradition, especially professors of English, for ignoring or misinterpreting the facts of our language. He had within him the spirit of a teacher and scholar, the impatient urge of a political reformer, a police reporter's nose for news, and an old-style editor's ability to write censorious prose, sensational and convincing. Professional exigencies undoubtedly account for the tendency to exaggerate which is common to teachers, reformers, reporters, and editors. They want to move their public. Mencken exaggerated magnificently. The professors seemed in his book *Dummköpfe*, although he praised the intentions of the Dialect Society (see *The Supplement*, p. lx). American speech he declared a separate language, "the American language," distinct from English. Mencken hailed American slang while writing himself in the great tradition of literary English common to all varieties of dialects. He damned the slow process of scholarly detail while showing in his own work scholarly care and the best footnotes since Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

The reception given the book was of course mixed. The scholars pointed out the errors, the half-truths, the mistaken assumptions. The newspaper critics, the writers for the magazines, the practicing novelists acclaimed it a new gospel. Both groups were partly right, and the story has a happy ending. *The American Language* was epoch-making (more than epoch-marking) in the critical study and mature appreciation of American English; and Mencken, bless his generous spirit and his sense and his scholarly instincts, has in later editions corrected or softened most of what seemed erroneous to his academic brethren. They were in fact fellow-workers in the same cause. The scholars have learned from Mencken, and Mencken has learned from the scholars. To him is the greater glory because he was practically alone on his side, and because he has always had the ability to reach a wide public.

The scholars' revenge and Mencken's reward, or the scholars' reward and Mencken's revenge, came about through the avalanche his book started of notes and articles and books on American speech. Mencken dutifully reached out for them all, filed them, and revised his volume three times, more than doubling its size. Now, because the fourth edition seemed too large to revise, Knopf has printed the first of two huge supplements. With such a mass of detailed material to manage, Mencken's performance has become a scholar's par excellence.

Supplement One, almost eight hundred pages in length and weighing two and a half pounds in full compliance with all government regulations for the conservation of paper, etc., brings up to date Chapters I to VI of *The American Language* ("The Two Streams of English," "The Materials of Inquiry," "The Beginnings of American," "The Period of Growth," "The Language Today," "American and English"). *Supplement Two*, now nearly completed, will take care of Chapters VII to XIII.

Like the parent volume, *Supplement One* is delightful reading for every facile-minded literate and indispensable to the Americana specialist and the reference librarian. Every reader will have his own queries and comments to make. Isn't "morbus Gallicas" a misprint for *gallicus* (p. 597, 717)? "Tapeworn specialist" is an error for *tapeworm* (p. 576). Is the hackmatack "an evergreen tree" (p. 170)? Mencken gives the NED earliest date 1440 for "pearl of orient," but the phrase "perles of Oryente" occurs in the fourteenth-century poem *The Pearl* (l. 82). Surprisingly Mencken states: "*Injine* for *engine* survives in the common speech of today, but certainly not *injin*, which is reserved for *Indian*" (p. 119). In my opinion "injin" is as often heard for *engine* as is the dictionary pronunciation. I believe that "injin" occurs more frequently for *engine* than for *Indian*, because the former is commoner in our language today.

I continue to regret Mencken's dislike—it is more than distrust—of the International Phonetic Alphabet. I admit that I personally have never been able to convert one adult practical man of letters or of business to the advisability of using it for any publication he is interested in. But notes on pronunciation often fail to make sense without phonetic symbols; for example, Mencken's account of *ain't* (pp. 404-406) is dim. And even a little experience with the IPA or with an alphabet like that of the Thorndike *Century* dictionary enables a man to hear, and to interpret his hearing, with greater discrimination. If only Mencken as a young man had been bitten by the phonetic bug! He, perhaps he alone, could persuade all adult practical men of letters and business to use for pronunciation the IPA, or some other alphabet with, in general, one symbol for each of the distinguishing sounds of English.

But if Mencken had accomplished this too, our debt to him would be overpowering! For his great contributions be all honor and all gratitude. "One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts."

Barnard College, Columbia University. WILLIAM CABELL GREET.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. Prepared for the M. L. A. by Thomas Clark Pollock with the co-operation of William C. DeVane and Robert E. Spiller. New York: Commission on Trends in Education of the M. L. A. 1945. viii, 31 pp. \$0.25.

This is a critical survey of American education in writing, reading, and speaking the mother tongue. Previous reports dealt with the philosophy of the teaching of language and literature. Now the Commission turns to practical applications. The results are not so clear and firm as one might desire.

Language ability, the report rightly states, is a matter of habit formation. And since language and thinking are inseparable, ability in language grows gradually with ability in thinking. These two blended abilities are to be regarded as probably the chief aim of education. In any society they are basic in the development of the individual. But "a democratic society depends for its very existence upon the ability of its members to think clearly and to share their thought."

Adequate training to this end is the business of the schools, primary and secondary, where the young members of our society come together for a period of about ten years. It cannot be postponed to college, since by no means all go to college and the *proportion* who do is declining. It cannot be shirked, as is now the tendency, in favor of other educational purposes, because its importance is fundamental.

In saying these things the report is sound, though it does not say them memorably. Nor does it effectively work out its contention that ability in communication is "best taught by continuous practice in the use of the language in meaningful situations." In high school, language study should be "closely correlated with the student's other experiences," especially his "experiences in literature, foreign language, and social science"; but how this is to be done is not explained. In college, the report seems not to approve courses which, like the Army and Navy training programs, unite work in speaking, writing, and reading and thus give speaking and writing a context. Are there to be separate courses, with no context for those in speaking and writing? We seem to need a fuller exploration of the implications of the unlovely phrase "meaningful situations." Certainly the situations prevailing in college courses in speech and composition appear to be relatively meaningless.

Chapel Hill.

NORMAN FOERSTER.

BRIEF MENTION

SIXTY AMERICAN POETS 1894-1944. Selected with Preface and Critical Notes by Allen Tate. A Preliminary Check List by Frances Cheney. Washington: The Library of Congress. 1945. xii, 188 pp. Mimeo-graphed.

While the Library of Congress has become probably the chief center for bibliographical work in American history, its fostering of the study of American literature has until very recently been negligible. The incumbents of the Chair of Poetry in the Library have no doubt aided in the acquisition of manuscripts, but otherwise seem to have done little for the study of poetry—American or foreign. Mr. Allen Tate, who occupied the Chair during the years 1943-1944, has at last broken the ice with the present work, although he makes it clear in his Introduction that he is an infidel concerning "Teutonic efficiency in letters."

Mr. Tate, however, merely selected the sixty poets and supplied a brief paragraph of critical or suggestive comment on each—and he makes no strong claims for either his selection or his preliminary remarks. Without examining the books themselves, Frances Cheney has done the real work of compiling lists of the volumes by and about the sixty poets. Phonograph recordings of poems have also been listed, and, occasionally, manuscripts have been located. The terminal limit is January 1, 1945.

The compilation is very helpful, though its helpfulness is restricted by the fact that "copies are not available for distribution to individuals." It is to be hoped that the Library of Congress will add experts on American literature to its staff and eventually take over as headquarters for the bibliographical study of the national letters.

C. G.

WEST VIRGINIA PLACE NAMES: *Their Origin and Meaning, Including the Nomenclature of the Streams and Mountains.* By Hamill Kenny. Piedmont, W. Va.: The Place Name Press. [1945.] xii, 768 pp. \$6.00.

This is the first work to appear on the place names of West Virginia and represents sturdy pioneer labor of the most arduous variety. Frequently Mr. Kenny has had to depend on the philological aid of post-masters and local histories. Of the latter he gives in an appendix the most adequate list that has ever been compiled. There are, of course, many omissions, and the accounts of the various names vary considerably with the amount of information at the compiler's disposal. But

the whole approach is objective, systematic, and sensible. The work will be of great help to researchers in place names, not only of the Mountain State, but of the region surrounding it.

C. G.

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. Edited with a Foreword by George R. Coffman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. viii, 344 pp. \$3.00.

"*Studies in Language and Literature* is the contribution of *Studies in Philology* to the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the University of North Carolina." It is a reprint of No. 3, Vol. XLII (1945) of that periodical and contains the following essays in the field of American literature: "American Literature a Hundred and Fifty Years Ago," by Gregory Paine, and "Thoreau's Sources for 'Resistance to Civil Government,'" by Raymond Adams. There is also a philological study of New York dialect based on two works of Marietta Holley, written by E. E. Ericson.

C. G.

PIONEERING A PEOPLE'S THEATRE. Edited with a Foreword by Archibald Henderson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. viii, 104 pp. \$2.00.

This little volume is a reprint of No. 1, Vol. XVII of *The Carolina Play-Book* and deals with the activities of the Carolina Playmakers during the twenty-six years of their history.

C. G.

SO FAR SO GOOD. By Charles Hanson Towne. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. [1945.] x, 245 pp. \$3.00.

A thin but pleasant book of anecdotes and autobiographical chatter, with mention of authors like Dreiser, Howells, Burgess, and Zona Gale.

C. G.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES 1944-1945. Edited by Arnold H. Trotier. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1945. xii, 68 pp.

This invaluable list once again shows how rapidly the study of American literature on the advanced level is progressing. Of the seventy-nine dissertations listed as the products of English departments during the year, about twenty-five deal with American topics. Iowa leads with four dissertations in American literature.

C. G.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF FAMOUS ENGLISH AND AMERICAN POETRY. Edited, with Introductions, by William Rose Benét and Conrad Aiken. New York: The Modern Library. [1945.] xxvi, 951 pp. \$1.45.

Mr. Aiken has written the brief introduction to the section devoted to American poems, pp. 513-926.

C. G.

THE MUSIC MAKERS: *An Anthology of Recent American Poetry*. Compiled by Stanton A. Coblenz. New York: Bernard Ackerman, Inc. [1945.] xxxiii, 275 pp. \$3.75.

A number of poets rarely seen in anthologies are included, and the selections are from works published since 1924. The format is unusually good.

C. G.

JOHNNIE APPLESEED: *A Voice in the Wilderness: The Story of the Pioneer John Chapman*. By Harlan Hatcher, Robert Price, Florence Murdock, John W. Stockwell, Ophia D. Smith, and Leslie Marshall. Paterson, N. J.: The Swedenborg Press. 1945. iv, 76 pp.

A centennial tribute to John Chapman.

C. G.

THE BACONIAN LECTURES ON AIMS AND PROGRESS OF RESEARCH IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA 1944. Series on Aims and Progress of Research No. 77. Study Series No. 410. Iowa City: The University of Iowa. [1945.] 134 pp.

Professor Bartholow V. Crawford contributes the lecture on "Language and Literature," pp. 47-57.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), John Jaques (Columbia University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College).

Items for the check list to be published in the November, 1946, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the Chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Robathan, Dorothy M. "John Adams and the Classics." *NEQ*, XIX, 91-98 (March, 1946).

Adams's library contained almost one hundred volumes of Greek and Latin classics in the original; the use to which he put them in his speeches and correspondence shows that they influenced his public and private life.

[BENEZET, ANTHONY] Merrill, Louis Taylor. "Anthony Benezet: Anti-slavery Crusader and Apostle of Humanitarianism." *Negro Hist. Bul.*, IX, 99-100, 104-106, 108, 111-116 (Feb., 1946).

[CHURCH, BENJAMIN] Vosburgh, Maude B. "The Disloyalty of Benjamin Church." *Cambridge Hist. Soc. Publs.*, XXX, 7-71 (1945).

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Covell, Elizabeth. "The Visits of Benjamin Franklin to Newport, Rhode Island." *Newport Hist. Soc. Bul.*, CIII, 1-16 (Jan., 1945).

Haviland, Thomas P. "Franklin's General Magazine, 1741." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, XLVIII, 125-138 (Winter, 1946).

A detailed description of the contents of the six issues.

———. "Of Franklin, Whitefield, and the Orphans." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXIX, 211-216 (Dec., 1945).

Franklin's interest in Whitefield's home for orphans in Georgia.

Wright, Louis B. "Franklin's Legacy to the Gilded Age." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXII, 268-279 (Spring, 1946).

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Malone, Ted. "Freneau, America's First Poet." *Vermont*, LI, 19-25 (Jan., 1946).

Reprints a broadcast presented from the poet's old home near Matawan.

[IMLAY, GILBERT] See MISCELLANEOUS, Krumplemann, below.

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Marsh, Philip. "Jefferson and Journalism." *Huntington Libr. Quar.*, IX, 209-212 (Feb., 1946).

Jefferson did not found, finance, direct, or write for partisan publications; nor did he often urge other men to contribute to them.

———. "The Vindication of Mr. Jefferson." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLV, 61-67 (Jan., 1946).

James Monroe, with Madison's help, came to the defense of Jefferson against Hamilton's attempt "to ruin Jefferson completely, discredit his party, and crush Freneau and the *National Gazette*."

[MATHER, COTTON] Barbee, David Rankin. "Did James F. Shunk Forge the Cotton Mather Letter? The Answer Is: Definitely No." *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XXVII, 179-205 (Jan., 1946).

The letter is dated September 15, 1682.

[STOCKTON, AUNIS] Butterfield, L. H. "Aunis and the General: Mrs. Stockton's Poetic Eulogies of George Washington." *Princeton Univ. Libr. Chron.*, VII, 19-39 (Nov., 1945).

Eulogies written by Aunis, wife of Richard Stockton of Princeton, with letters which passed between Washington and Mrs. Stockton.

[TAYLOR, EDWARD] Weathers, Willie T. "Edward Taylor, Hellenistic Puritan." *AL*, XVIII, 18-26 (March, 1946).

Taylor's debt to the Hellenistic school of Greek and Roman poets is revealed in the volumes in his library and by his poetical practice.

Wright, Nathalia. "The Morality Tradition in the Poetry of Edward Taylor." *AL*, XVIII, 1-17 (March, 1946).

Taylor was led to the morality tradition "by a combination of influences: a keen dramatic sense, a congeniality with the thought of the Middle Ages, and long habits of theological speculation."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Brinton, Ellen S. "Books by and about the Rogerenes." *Bul. of the N. Y. Pub. Libr.*, XLIX, 627-648 (April, 1945).

Brown, Frank C. "The First Boston Theatre, on Federal Street, Charles Bullfinch, Architect." *Old-Time New Eng.*, XXXVI, 1-7 (July, 1945).

The theater was built in 1793 and finally discontinued in 1852.

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Damon, S. Foster. "Providence Theatricals in 1773." *R. I. Hist.*, IV, 55-58 (April, 1945).

Jackson, Joseph. "First Catholic Bible Printed in America." *Records of the Am. Catholic Hist. Soc. of Phila.*, LVI, 18-25 (March, 1945).

The "Carey Bible" was published by Carey, Stewart & Co. in Philadelphia in 1790.

Jones, Howard Mumford. "The Image of the New World." *Univ. of Colo. Studies*, ser. B, II, 62-84 (Oct., 1945).

"That it took so many decades to kindle Tudor imaginations into activity with respect to the new found lands becomes less of a puzzle as one surveys the literature on which that imagination had to feed until late in the sixteenth century."

Marraro, H. R. "Italian Culture in Eighteenth-Century American Magazines." *Italica*, XXII, 21-31 (March, 1945).

Krumplemann, John T. "Du Pratz's History of Louisiana (1763), A Source of Americanisms, Especially of Those Attributed to Imlay." *Am. Speech*, XX, 45-50 (Feb., 1945).

II. 1800-1870

[ADAMS, J. Q.] Kirby, Thomas A. "J. Q. Adams and Chaucer." *MLN*, LXI, 185-186 (March, 1946).

A reprint, with comments, of an eight-line autograph manuscript poem, written by John Quincy Adams in 1834, containing a Chaucer allusion.

[BROWNSON, ORESTES] Ryan, Thomas. "Brownson and the Papacy." *Am. Eccles. Rev.*, CXIV, 114-122 (Feb., 1946).

[COOPER, J. F.] Kirk, Russell. "Cooper and the European Puzzle." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 198-207 (Jan., 1946).

An examination of Cooper's stories of European life shows him to be a sturdy American democrat striking resolute blows at tyranny in the guise of liberty and offering America a warning which it little heeded: though Cooper's thought was not always profound, his vision was clear.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Hummel, Hermann. "Emerson and Nietzsche." *NEQ*, XIX, 63-84 (March, 1946).

Nietzsche seems to have been influenced in a higher degree by Emerson than by anyone else; though his process of assimilation, extending over many years, is obscured by the infrequency of direct reference.

Kronman, Jeanne. "Three Unpublished Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson." *NEQ*, XIX, 98-100 (March, 1946).

Newspaper reports of lectures in New York on March 14, 1842, January 29, 1850, and February 20, 1852.

Wasung, C. J. "Emerson Comes to Detroit." *Michigan Hist.*, XXIX, 59-72 (Jan.-Feb.-March, 1946).

[FAVROT, P. J.] Parkhurst, Helen. "Don Pedro Favrot, A Creole Pepys." *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII, 579-734 (July, 1945).

Pierre Joseph ("Don Pedro" during the Spanish regime) Favrot (1749-1824) left a valuable and interesting diary.

[GREELEY, HORACE] Holmes, Mrs. Philip B. "Horace Greeley's New Hampshire Diary." *Historical New Hampshire* (April, 1945), pp. 7-11.

[HARRIS, G. W.] Day, Donald. "The Political Satires of George W. Harris." *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, IV, 320-338 (Dec., 1945).

Sut Lovingood summarized and analyzed.

[HART, ALBAN J. X.] Walser, Richard. "'Old Field Teacher' Literary Puzzle Solved by Research After 107 Years." *Durham [N. C.] Morning Herald*, April 21, 1946, sect. IV, p. 1.

The author, unidentified in *The Library of Southern Literature*, of *Attempts at Rhyming by an Old Field Teacher* (1839) was Alban J. X. Hart, 1798-1879.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Doubleday, Neal F. "Hawthorne's Use of Three Gothic Patterns." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 250-262 (Feb., 1946).

Hawthorne's debt to his Gothic sources is more general than specific, but three Gothic patterns appear at least twice in his tales and recur in his romances.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Currier, T. Franklin. "Oliver Wendell Holmes, Poet Laureate of Harvard." *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII, 436-451 (1945).

One hundred and eight of four hundred and eighty poems are "distinctly Harvard in scope."

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Wegelin, Christof. "Dickens and Irving." *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, VII, 83-91 (March, 1946).

Questions the thesis of Ernest Boll's "Charles Dickens and Washington Irving," *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, V, 453-467 (Dec., 1944), that Irving made a large contribution to the literary growth of Dickens.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Jackson, William A. "J. R. Lowell and John Locke." *NEQ*, XIX, 113-114 (March, 1946).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Giona, Jean. "Pour saluer Melville." *Nouvelle revue française*, XXVIII, 433-458 (April 1, 1940).

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Hillway, Tyrus. "Taji's Quest for Certainty." *AL*, XVIII, 27-34 (March, 1946).

"A parallel of the main allegory in Herman Melville's *Mardi* is to be found . . . in the adventure of the fifth pilgrim on the island of Maramma."

Jones, Joseph. "Ahab's 'Blood-Quench': Theater or Metallurgy?" *AL*, XVIII, 35-37 (March, 1946).

"The spectacular episode of the blood-quench at the forge, un-plausible as it sounds, has a long tradition of practice behind it."

Warren, Robert Penn. "Melville the Poet." *Kenyon Rev.*, VIII, 208-223 (Spring, 1946).

Melville did not learn his craft, but if his poetry is, on the whole, a poetry of shreds and patches, many of the patches are of a massy and kingly fabric.

[O'BRIEN, FITZ-JAMES] Wolle, Francis. "'Violina' by Fitz-James O'Brien." *Univ. of Colo. Studies*, ser. B, II, 328-336 (Oct., 1945).

First printing of an incomplete short story which "exhibits a number of qualities characteristic of O'Brien's method and subject matter."

[SLOWE, H. B.] Lee, Wallace, and others. "Is Uncle Tom's Cabin Anti-Negro?" *Negro Digest*, Jan., 1946, pp. 68-72.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "Thoreau at Walden." *Extension Bul.*, *Univ. of N. C.*, XXXIV, 1-17 (Nov., 1944).

———. "Thoreau's Growth at Walden." *Chri. Reg.*, CXXIV, 268-270 (July, 1945).

Thoreau went to Walden with a good deal of skepticism, but left convinced that perfection is not impossible and that betterment is sure.

———. "Thoreau's Science." *Scientific Mo.*, LX, 379-382 (May, 1945).

When Thoreau went to live at Walden, he was an indifferent man of science; but his scientific spirit grew, until "The Secession of the Forest Trees" (1860) revealed the scientist in action.

Cosman, Max. "Thoreau Faced War." *Personalist*, XXV, 73-76 (Winter, 1944).

Harding, Walter. "The Significance of Thoreau's Walden." *Humanist*, V, 115-121 (Autumn, 1945).

"For those who are lost in the modern American jungles, Walden is a compass pointing the way back to life."

Leisy, Ernest E. "Sources of Thoreau's Borrowing in *A Week*." *AL*, XVIII, 37-44 (March, 1946).

Stewart, Randall. "The Growth of Thoreau's Reputation." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 208-214 (Jan., 1946).

[POE, E. A.] Tello de la Piña, Raquel. "La necrofilia en Allan Poe." *Humanidades*, I, 101-113 (Dec., 1943).

[WHIPPLE, E. P.] Sutcliffe, Denham. "'Our Young American Macaulay,' Edwin Percy Whipple, 1819-1886." *NEQ*, XIX, 3-18 (March, 1946).

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Dolbee, Cora. "Kansas and 'The Prairied West' of John G. Whittier." *Essex Hist. Col.*, LXXXII, 155-173 (April, 1946).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Carson, William Glasgow Bruce. "Night Life in St. Louis a Century Ago." *Bul. of the Missouri Hist. Soc.*, I, 3-9 (April, 1945), and II, 3-10 (Oct., 1945).

Lectures, concerts, and the theater in St. Louis in the 1840's.

Corbitt, James A. "The First Printing Press of the University of Notre Dame." *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, XLI, 50-58 (March, 1945).

The first press was established in 1845 and lasted till 1847; the second was established in 1865.

Ford, Edwin H. "Southern Minnesota Pioneer Journalism." *Minn. Hist.*, XXVII, 1-20 (March, 1946).

Frese, Joseph R. "Some Notes on the 'United States Catholic Miscellany.'" *Records of the Am. Catholic Hist. Soc. of Phila.*, LV, 389-400 (Dec., 1944), and LVI, 54-66 (March, 1945).

A discussion of "the first really Catholic periodical of any stability in the United States," published in Charleston, S. C., from June, 1821, to December, 1861.

Hubach, Robert R. "Illinois, Host to Well-known Nineteenth Century Authors." *Jour. of the Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 446-467 (Dec., 1945).

McCausland, Walter. "Some Early Texas Newspapers." *Southwestern Hist. Rev.*, XLIX, 384-389 (Jan., 1946).

Nenclares, F. Carmona. "El Viajeda Alejo de Tocqueville a America del Norti en 1830." *Revista de las Indias*, LXXV, 377-396 (March, 1945).

Schlesinger, Arthur M. "Learning How to Behave." *More Books*, XXI, 87-102 (March, 1946).

Continued from previous issues.

Shockley, Martin Staples. "First American Performances of Some English Plays." *Univ. of Colo. Studies*, ser. B, II, 302-306 (Oct., 1945).

From 1822 to 1833.

Winkler, E. W. "Check List of Texas Imprints from 1846-1876." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLIX, 245-266 (Oct., 1945).

The eleventh installment of an extensive check list, the first installment of which appeared in April, 1943.

III. 1870-1900

- [ADAMS, HENRY] Baym, Max I. "Henry Adams and the Critics." *Am. Scholar*, XV, 79-89 (Winter, 1946).

Adams's "failure" was only a pen-and-paper failure: he wrote a "terribly ironic estimate of himself" because it pleased his artistic fancy to do so.

- [BANCROFT, H. H.] Caughey, John Walton. "Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of Western America." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, L, 461-470 (April, 1945).

- [BELLAMY, EDWARD] Levi, Albert William. "Edward Bellamy: Utopian." *Ethics*, LV, 131-144 (Jan., 1945).

- [CLEMENS, S. L.] Bidewell, George Ivan. "Mark Twain's Florida Years." *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XL, 159-173 (Jan., 1946).

"The claim of Florida [Missouri] to a formative influence in the development of Mark Twain is more soundly grounded than is generally recognized."

- Hollenbach, John W. "Mark Twain, Story-Teller, at Work." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 303-312 (March, 1946).

- Whiting, B. J. "Guyuscutus, Royal Nonesuch and Other Hoaxes." *So. Folklore Quar.*, VIII, 251-275 (Dec., 1944).

- [DICKINSON, EMILY] Erskine, John. "The Dickinson Saga." *Yale Rev.*, XXXV, 74-83 (Sept., 1945).

The Todd-Dickinson feud is highlighted by Mr. Erskine's reminiscences of a dinner party given in Amherst by Mrs. Bianchi.

- Klett, Ada M. "Doom and Fortitude—A Study of Poetic Metaphor in Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848) and Emily Dickinson (1830-1866)." *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, XXXVII, 37-54 (Jan., 1945).

- [HERNE, J. A.] Bucks, Dorothy S. and Nethercot, Arthur H. "Ibsen and Herne's *Margaret Fleming*: A Study of the Early Ibsen Movement in America." *AL*, XVII, 311-333 (Jan., 1946).

- [HOWELLS, W. D.] Cady, Edward Harrison. "The Neuroticism of William Dean Howells." *PMLA*, LXI, 229-238 (March, 1946).

"Life-long psychological difficulties left Howells with a neurotic condition which literally made it impossible for him to know and understand as realities the portions of pain and filth and terror in human living with which a major writer must be at least vicariously intimate."

- [JAMES, HENRY] BROWN, E. K. "James and Conrad." *Yale Rev.*, XXXV, 265-285 (Winter, 1946).

Conrad is strong where James is weak: Conrad never strips his characters of their "human fringes," and always keeps the objective theater of action before his readers.

- Tintner, Adeline R. "The Spoils of Henry James." *PMLA*, LXI, 239-251 (March, 1946).

James's works are "the record of an attempt to balance the material aspect of civilization, art—with its spiritual aspect, life."

- [JEWETT, SARAH ORNE] WEBER, CARL J. "Sarah Orne Jewett's First Story." *NEQ*, XIX, 85-90 (March, 1946).

"Jenny Garrows Lovers" appeared in the *Flag of the Union* in 1868.

- [O'REILLY, J. B.] BLEDSOE, THOMAS. "John Boyle O'Reilly: Poet-Prophet of Democracy." *Crisis*, LII, 18-19, 28 (Jan., 1945).

- [ROMBERG, J. C. N.] METZANTHIN-RAUNICK, SELMA. "Johannes Christlieb Nathaniel Romberg, German Poet of Texas." *Amer.-Ger. Rev.*, XII, 32-35 (Feb., 1946).

- [WHITMAN, WALT] COWLEY, MALCOLM. "Walt Whitman: The Miracle." *New Rep.*, CXIV, 385-388 (March 18, 1946).

Examines influences on Whitman of his visit to New Orleans, his interest in phrenology, his reading of Emerson and George Sand, and his sexual life from 1848 to 1855.

- [MARTÍ, JOSÉ] "Martí in His Own Words. I. Walt Whitman." *Bul. of the Pan Am. Union*, May, 1945, pp. 270-272.

Translation of an account, dated April 19, 1887, written while Martí lived in New York as a correspondent for several Latin American papers.

- ROMIG, EDNA DAVIS. "More Roots for Leaves of Grass." *Univ. of Colo. Studies*, ser. B, II, 322-328 (Oct., 1945).

A summary which "pushes the Emerson influence into illustration and circumstantial evidence."

IV. 1900-1946

- [ALLEN, HERVEY] KINNERMAN, JOHN A. "Anthony Adverse or Theodore Canot." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XXX, 304-310 (July, 1945).

"Allen must have relied to a large degree upon the romantic reports of a slave captain whose memoirs deserve wider reading."

- [BRADFORD, GAMALIEL] EZBAN, SELIM. "Gamaliel Bradford et Leopardi." *Italica*, XXII, 205-211 (Dec., 1945).

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[CALDWELL, ERSKINE] MacLachlan, John Miller. "Folk and Culture in the Novels of Erskine Caldwell." *So. Folklore Quar.*, IX, 93-102 (June, 1945).

[CULLEN, COUNTÉE] Dodson, Owen. "Countee Cullen (1903-1946)." *Phylon*, VII, 19-20 (First Quar., 1946).

[DOUGLAS, LLOYD] Bridges, Horace J. "Jesus in Fiction: 'The Robe' and 'The Nazarene.'" *Standard*, XXXI, 165-171 (March, 1945).

[DREISER, THEODORE] Mayberry, George. "Dreiser, 1871-1945." *New Rep.*, CXIV, 56 (Jan. 14, 1946).

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MARK TWAIN'S A CONNECTICUT YANKEE: A GENETIC STUDY

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I

"YESTERDAY I READ 'A Connecticut Yankee at [sic] King Arthur's Court' for the first time in more than 30 years," Mark Twain wrote his daughter Clara only six weeks before his death. "I am prodigiously pleased with it—a most gratifying surprise."¹

What doubts and fears were dispelled while he reread the *Yankee*? How much of its painful gestation and disappointing reception did the old man remember? The chilly response of the English—his good friend Andrew Lang refused to read it—Mark certainly did not forget; he was always sensitive to sales and critical reception. Of the actual conception, the first miscarriage, and the struggle to harmonize the reconception with his temperament, he probably had forgotten much.

But the story ought to be told. It continues DeVoto's revelation of Mark's sporadic composition of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* as disclosed in *Mark Twain at Work* and sheds light on the basic form and purpose of Clemens's last major work. Why did the author, so pro-British at the beginning and close of his literary career, suddenly turn to satirize English institutions and traditions? What are the formative influences which make *A Connecticut Yankee* perhaps his most sustained humorous flight and his most effective satire? These questions so fundamental to a fuller understanding of the work demand an inquiry into its conception and birth.

¹ In this letter which Clara Clemens quotes in *My Father: Mark Twain* (New York, 1931), p. 289, Clemens's recollection is faulty. Twenty years may have passed, but not thirty. He died in the spring of 1910. The *Yankee* was published in December, 1889.

Acknowledgment is made to Bernard DeVoto, who generously gave the writer complete access to the Mark Twain Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., and who gained permission for the incorporation in this study of passages from the notebooks, the manuscripts, and letters hitherto unpublished. The material from the Mark Twain Papers cannot be used again without Mr. DeVoto's permission. Thanks are likewise extended to the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for consent to print Twain's letter to William Dean Howells of Aug. 5, 1889.

From November, 1884, to December, 1889, he struggled, off and on, to bring his Arthurian tale to life. In some respects these five years were the happiest since his piloting days. He had three delightful daughters and a devoted wife. There was scarcely an inkling of the tragedies so soon to strike. Financially he was well off and believed his fliers in the publishing business and the Paige typesetter would sweep him to the crest. If Holmes, Lowell, and Whittier were still regarded as his superiors, his *Innocents Abroad*, *Roughing It*, *Tom Sawyer*, *The Prince and the Pauper*, *Life on the Mississippi*, and *Huckleberry Finn* had made him more widely known and admired. His pen name was becoming a household word the world over.

Yet there was a tragic side to these pinnacle years in his fifties as evidenced by the scores of half-finished manuscripts. Clemens came perilously close to a literary paralysis after the publication of *Huckleberry Finn* in December, 1884. The five-year period prior to the appearance of *A Connecticut Yankee* is the longest gap in his book-publishing career. Suzy, that shrewd little biographer, put her finger on the saddest aspect of these years when she wrote in 1886:

Mama and I have both been very much troubled of late because papa, since he had been publishing General Grant's books, has seemed to forget his own books and works entirely; and the other evening, as papa and I were promonading up and down the library, he told me that he didn't expect to write but one more book, and then he was ready to give up work altogether, die, or do anything; he said that he had written more than he had ever expected to, and the only book that he had been pertickularly anxious to write was one locked up in the safe downstairs, not yet published.²

Paine then adds: ". . . the book locked in the safe was *Captain Stormfield*, and the one he expected to write was *A Connecticut Yankee*. . . ." And so the knight-errantry tale was on his mind. How long had he been toying with it?

Although Clemens and his official biographer both agree that it was the reading of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* which first stimulated his idea for an Arthurian tale, the author and Paine disagree as to when the incident occurred. Twain's testimony is an ink entry, written on November 19, 1889, across an earlier pencil ref-

² A. B. Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), II, 840.

erence, which appears in the notebook covering the dates October 24, 1884, to April 4, 1885.

Fall of '84 while Cable & I were giving readings, Cable got a *Morte d'Arthur* & gave it to me to read. I began to make notes in my head for a bk. No[v] 11 '86 I read the first Chapter (all that was then written), at Governor's Island & closed the reading with an outline of the probable contents of the future book. Wrote the book (*The Yankee at Arthur's Court* in 87 & 88, & published it in December '89 [Shall, anyway] Nov. 19, '89 SLC³

Without weighing the significance of the "fall" reference, Paine places the *Morte d'Arthur* incident as happening in Rochester after the Christmas holidays.⁴ Whether Clemens began reading Malory in the late fall of 1884 or in January, 1885, is not too important, but his comment is primary evidence and seems more reliable in this instance.

The over-written pencil note, however, is significant because it is the earliest *Yankee* reference and indicates how Clemens first seized upon the humorous possibilities of taking a modern and placing him in a medieval setting. Apparently the dream device was with him from the start.

Dream of being a knight errant in armor, in the Middle Ages. Have the notions & habits of thought of the present day mixed with the necessities of that. No pockets in the armor. Can't scratch. Cold in the head—can't blow—can't get a handkerchief, can't use iron sleeve. Iron gets redhot in the sun—leaks in the rain, gets white with frost & freezes me solid in winter. Makes disagreeable clatter when I enter church. Can't dress or undress myself. Always getting struck by lightning. Fall down & can't get up.⁵

This germinal idea, a good deal of which survives as an amusing word picture in Chapter XII, "Slow Torture," may have been inspired by *Don Quixote*, as O. H. Moore declares;⁶ but Clemens's dislike for the chivalric ideal as expressed by Scott and the romantic improbabilities in Cooper, Shakespeare, and medieval legendry

³ Notebook 18, p. 11 (Mark Twain Papers, copyright 1946 by the Mark Twain Company). The brackets in the last sentence are in the original.

⁴ Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 790.

⁵ Notebook 18, p. 11 (Mark Twain Papers, copyright 1946 by the Mark Twain Company).

⁶ Olin Harris Moore, "Mark Twain and Don Quixote," *PMLA*, XXXVII, 324 ff. (June, 1922).

seems too integral a part of his frontier realism to be explained simply as a literary attitude borrowed from Cervantes. Certainly in this first notebook sketch of a modern plagued by the inconvenience of his antiquated armor there is little indication that Clemens intended to write a comprehensive *satire* upon chivalry and chivalrous romances.

His mood lies somewhere in between that of an extravaganza like "Life in the Interior of an Iceberg," a theme with which he was toying at this time, and that of a burlesque similar to "1002," a dreary parody of the *Arabian Nights* which he completed in the fall of 1883. But the basic idea of "dumping the nineteenth century down into the sixth century and observing the consequences" is clearly stated and remains a constant intent throughout. Up to 1886 he advanced no further than browsing in *Morte d'Arthur* and making an occasional note, usually mental, for the proposed book. When he actually started pegging away at it, his mood had changed considerably.

On November 16, 1886, he wrote Mrs. A. W. Fairbanks,⁷ his literary godmother, that two or three chapters of his Arthurian story were written. He denies that he is writing a satire which might besmirch or belittle old Malory's beautiful characters; the thought of ridiculing Galahad, Launcelot, or Arthur is repugnant to him. He intends only to present a contrast between life in King Arthur's day with that of the present without violating the sweetness and purity of the divine legend. He suggests that his book is to be written only for posterity—a labor of love and leisure. He expects to write not more than three chapters of the book each year for the next thirty years.

This is an extremely significant letter. Clemens still wanted to get his humorous contrast, but not at the expense of the dear old master or of his "great and beautiful characters." In fact, his comic or burlesque impulse had come into conflict with an overwhelming sentimental admiration for his chief source of subject matter. Consequently he was not talking of what we recognize as *A Connecticut Yankee*, but of a romance in which his chivalric devotion and his lofty literary purpose anticipated the spirit of *Joan of Arc*, which was not to be completed for another decade.

⁷ Unfortunately the Henry E. Huntington Library has restricted the publication of any of its Fairbanks material pending the appearance of Dixon Wecter's edition, which is expected late in 1946 or early in 1947.

At odds with his early enthusiasm for Malory is his persistent suspicion of the commonly accepted classic and his contempt for jejune romance. His realistic bias must outweigh his admiration before he can ridicule Malory for his prolixity, his straw characters, and his tedious repetition of incident. But at this stage Mark is far removed from the spirit of Chapter XV, in which The Boss is continuously dozing off while Sandy tells her tale. It looks as if he is trying to whip up an attitude which is not in his heart.

The "three chapters a year" notion is sheer rationalization; his story was bogging down. When the steam was in the boiler, he wrote explosively. When the pressure dropped, he couldn't compose. He had written no more than three chapters, and the tank was going dry.

Some internal evidence exists which indicates that he shelved his manuscript in 1886 at about the time he wrote Mrs. Fairbanks. His attitude in Chapter III of the *Yankee* is altered radically in the following chapter. In the former he describes the Knights of the Table Round as follows:

There was a fine manliness observable in almost every face; and in some a certain loftiness and sweetness that rebuked your belittling criticisms and stilled them. A most noble benignity and purity reposed in the countenance of him they called Sir Galahad, and likewise in the king's also; and there was a majesty and greatness in the giant frame and high bearing of Sir Launcelot of the Lake.

But in Chapter IV the mechanic is shocked at the indecency of court talk and conduct. Henceforth the sweet and pure Arthur becomes The Boss's "stooge," and Sir Galahad and Sir Launcelot evaporate into mere shadows to highlight the ingenious antics of the Connecticut Yankee.

Clemens, however, in the notebook reference already cited, refers to working on the book in 1887, an idea which, if true, rather upsets the theory that the manuscript was laid aside very long. There is good reason to question his assertion.

He does not mention the proposed book in his notebooks covering that year. In the available letters, the next reference to the *Yankee* does not occur until October 5, 1888. Furthermore, in his *Autobiography* he definitely says that he pigeonholed his project for two years:

Ever since then, when I have been writing a book I have pigeonholed it

without misgivings when its tank ran dry, well knowing that it would fill up again without any of my help within the next two or three years, and then the work of completing it would be simple and easy. *The Prince and the Pauper* struck work in the middle because the tank was dry, and I didn't touch it again for two years. A dry interval of two years occurred in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*.⁸

Assuming, then, that the preceding statement is true, the only two-year lapse in the writing process would fall after November 16, 1886, at which date "two or three chapters" were completed. By October 5, 1888, Clemens was plowing full steam ahead and holding the throttle down until he was finished.

Therefore the weight of external and internal evidence indicates that he wrote the first three chapters of the *Yankee* in November, 1886, grew weary of it, and placed it on the shelf for a two-year incubation period. There is nothing unique in this procedure, which fits the general pattern of the way he composed. *Tom Sawyer*, *The Prince and the Pauper*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and innumerable minor works were all begun before he knew where he was going.

At this stage his romance had no inner drive, no definite aim. The mood of the novelist and the nature of his subject matter had not fused together to form the germ-point for vigorous growth. The Boss as the caustic New England mechanic who scoffs at the British Age of Chivalry for its inhumanity, ignorance, and superstition had not yet been conceived.

II

Recall that in his letter to Mrs. Fairbanks Clemens referred to his book as not being "a satire peculiarly" but "more especially a *contrast*." In fact he stressed his desire not to appear critical of the ages he was contrasting. Before his Arthurian tale was to emerge as a satire, its author needed to feel that his national ideals were being denounced and that it was his special mission to vindicate them by ridiculing their opposites.

This critical attitude, the very backbone of the satirical spirit, is inextricably associated with a changing attitude towards the English which begins as early as the fall of 1879 and finally assumes the proportions of a raging Anglophobia in 1888 and 1889. It is an

⁸ Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain in Eruption* (New York, 1940), p. 197.

interesting story, an unwritten chapter of those days when twisting the British lion's tail became a national pastime.

Howells in *My Mark Twain* gives an accurate graph of Mark's general opinion of the British,⁹ but Clemens's own explanation is more pertinent to the problem.

His first trip to England was in 1872. One of his main objectives was to capitalize on the astounding success of his *Innocents Abroad* by writing a book on how England strikes the Yankee visitor. It was to be an English *Innocents*. But he was so favorably impressed that his humorous project never got much beyond a few sketches of Westminster Abbey, the British Museum, and St. Paul's which he jotted down in a notebook. After returning to the States, Mark was questioned about the unwritten book by a newspaper reporter. "She is not a good text for hilarious literature," Mark replied. "No, there wasn't anything to satirize—what I mean is you couldn't satirize any given thing in England in any but a half-hearted way, because your conscience told you to look nearer home and you would find that very thing at your own door. A man with a hump-backed uncle mustn't make fun of another man's cross-eyed aunt."¹⁰

Seven years later when he was winding up his tramp abroad with a few weeks in England, his attitude was no longer enthusiastic and tolerant. Shortly before he sailed homeward from Liverpool, August 23, 1879, he made the following entry in his notebook:

For some years a custom has been growing up in our literature to praise everything English & do it affectionately. This is not met half-way and so it will cease. English individuals like & respect American individuals, but the English nation despises America & the Americans. But this does not sting us as it did when we were smaller. We shall presently be indifferent to being looked down upon by a nation no bigger & no better than our own. We made the telegraph a practical thing; we invented the fast press, the sewing machine, the sleeping & parlor car, the telephone, the iron-clad, we have introduced the foretelling of the weather. Nobody writes a finer & purer English than Motley, Howells, Hawthorne & Holmes.¹¹

For the moment his native pride was pricked. England ap-

⁹ W. D. Howells, *My Mark Twain* (New York, 1910), pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ New York *World*, reprinted in *Hartford Courant*, May 14, 1879.

¹¹ Notebook 14, Feb. 26, 1879—Sept. 8, 1879 (Mark Twain Papers, copyright 1946 by the Mark Twain Company).

peared to be squinting down her nose at Uncle Sam. But it would be a long time before Clemens created his mechanic who was to demonstrate Yankee ingenuity in the arts of war, electricity, and industrial methods. In fact he cooled off rapidly. Nothing markedly anti-British had crept into his books.

In spite of his strong equalitarian message in *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881), kingship is not questioned. Edward VI is merely a better monarch for having worn the pauper's rags. In *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) Mrs. Trollope, whose criticisms of the American scene had stirred up considerable native indignation, is praised by Mark for her candor and humane sentiment:

Nearly all the tourists were honest and fair; nearly all felt a sincere kindness for us; nearly all of them glossed us over a little too anxiously, and apexed each particularly harsh truth concerning us with a lugged-in soft one which often bore marks of artificial mellowing by manipulation; but Mrs. Trollope, alone of them all, dealt what the gamblers call a "square game." She did not gild us, and neither did she white-wash us.¹²

Early in 1883, about the time the Mississippi book was coming off the press and before he singled out Matthew Arnold as the most obnoxious foreign critic, Mark was prompted to defend American civilization. Charles Dudley Warner published an article on his impressions of England in the *Century* (November, 1882) which stirred up fiery retorts from the English journals, especially *Blackwood's*. The attack on his friend and on his country, which he felt was "a fair subject for the compassion of the world," incited Clemens to sketch a first draft for a ten-minute speech which he never finished.¹³

First he denounces the British crown. He declares that the ruddy complexion of the English is really a shameful blush for the 650 years during which they had been the personal property of alien monarchs. In her 800 years England has had only one monarch without blemish besides Queen Victoria. He runs on in this vein, taunting the English for their established church and privileged class, and then grows weary and quits. The proposed

¹² See Wagenknecht's edition of *Life on the Mississippi* (New York, 1944), pp. 391-395. This is the first complete edition.

¹³ The speech is unsigned, unpublished, and incomplete. It is listed as Item 91 on Paine's check list of the Mark Twain Papers.

speech is a preliminary flurry to the torrent of similar ridicule he was later to direct at Matthew Arnold and to enter in his notebooks of 1888-1889 as ideas for the *Yankee*.

The central factor, however, in the kindling of momentary gibes into a fit of Anglophobia is the controversy he had with Matthew Arnold, who landed in New York on October 15, 1883, to deliver a series of one hundred lectures. Arnold's American tour has been discussed many times,¹⁴ but Mark's tiff with the celebrated poet and critic—so vital to a fuller understanding of *A Connecticut Yankee*—has never been carefully examined.

According to Paine, when Arnold came to lecture in Hartford he "was perhaps the only literary Englishman left who had not accepted Mark Twain at his larger value." The biographer relates how completely the visitor fell before the charm of Clemens, who met Arnold at a reception and entertained him in his own home.¹⁵

This account, leaning heavily on references from Howells's *My Mark Twain*, needs to be probed further. If Arnold, who the year before had viewed Mark Twain's humor as an example of the low state of literature in America,¹⁶ suddenly and sincerely capitulated, one might reasonably expect some passing reference from him about the Hartford incident.

Arnold arrived in Hartford on November 14 and stayed with "a nice old couple called Clark." He was struck by the wealth of David Clark and impressed by "the immense reception" that evening at which he met "the Governor and Senator for this sterling old State of Connecticut, and every one thence downwards." In a letter to his daughter, written from Hartford on the November 15 after his lecture, he does not mention Clemens. Americans have not made a favorable impression: "I have seen no American yet, except Norton at Cambridge, who does not seem to desire constant publicity and to be on the go all day long."¹⁷ It is possible, but rather improbable, that he had not yet been entertained in Clemens's home. His letter was written late in the evening of the fifteenth, and he left for Boston at noon on the day following.¹⁸

¹⁴ See H. M. Jones's bibliography in "Arnold, Aristocracy, and America," *American Historical Review*, XLIX, 393-409 (April, 1944).

¹⁵ Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 758-759.

¹⁶ "A Word About America," *Nineteenth Century*, XI, 680-696 (May, 1882).

¹⁷ G. W. E. Russell III (ed.), *Letters of Matthew Arnold* (New York, 1895), II, 266-269.

¹⁸ C. H. Leonard, "Arnold in America" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1932), Appendix B.

Moreover, Clemens is mentioned neither in Arnold's subsequent letters nor in his notebook entries relating to his American tour. The Howells-Paine story of the distinguished Englishman's being captivated by "the glamour of that potent presence," if not unhistorical reminiscence, is greatly exaggerated. This does not mean that Clemens did not play the role of the genial host—he undoubtedly did—but basically that the aristocratic, sophisticated Arnold, who felt that democracy was incompatible with refinement and culture, represented an ideology that was repulsive and diametrically opposed to Mark's robust Jacksonianism. Furthermore Mark denied that there was any absolute standard, like Arnold's, which could be used fairly in evaluating different civilizations.

Before Arnold sailed from this country on March 9, 1884, Clemens began to attack the English critic who had found much that was rude and barbarous in the American scene.

Must all the advice be emptied upon us? And all the criticism? May we not respond? May we not turn—like other worms? Or is Europe perfect that she has no discoverable flaw, & hence no need of advice & no tainted matter for criticism to smell at & forage upon?

To judge by the air of the visiting critic, Europe *is* perfect, at any rate England—to him. To him—yes. But he overlooks the fact that in criticism of this sort there are two standards of excellence—the critic's standard *and* that of the criticised—and that they are of exactly equal authority. When the traveling Englishman asserts that a vast greasy black woman, as obese as a balloon, is not beautiful, it is true—by his standard. When the King of Dahomey retorts that she *is* beautiful, it is also true—by his standard. Now our quarrel with the foreign critic is not that we are not the dreadful people he paints us—for we certainly are when tried by his standard; our quarrel with him is that he lets on there isn't any authoritative standard to judge us by, but his. That is where he is offensive; that is where he is an ass.

Let us also be an ass, & offensive. He has accorded us the privilege by according it to himself. Let us set to work & criticise him & his—from our stand-point; try him & his by our standards, ignoring all other authority; turn his own methods against him. And let us be always careful to not soften harsh judgments by polite reservations—such as "as it seems to *us*, reared as we have been reared, taught as we have been taught"—but just deliver harsh judgment straight from the shoulder, with the air

of one who recognizes no standards as being worth anything but his own & his country's.¹⁹

Mark Twain opened his refutation fairly well, but because of the pressure of other affairs or merely the lagging of his interest he laid the fragment aside. Generally speaking, his Arnold manuscripts are pretty free of the sort of personal abuse which the American press directed at the motives, mannerisms, and physical appearance of the distinguished visitor. On this occasion, however, Clemens does indulge in a bit of cheap invective.²⁰

Arnold, according to the anecdote, was making the trip in a crowded horsecar from Cambridge to Boston, where he was to speak in Tremont Temple. He had a seat, but a lady near him was forced to stand. Even after the celebrity engaged her in conversation concerning the location and size of the auditorium, it did not occur to Arnold that the courteous thing to do was to offer the lady his seat.

The first act of Arnold which stirred Clemens to public utterance took place in 1887. The January and February issues of *Murray's Magazine* carried a long and mediocre review of Grant's *Memoirs* written by England's foremost literary critic.²¹

The description of Grant as "not interesting . . . ordinary-looking, dull and silent" irked Clemens, but what really made him angry was Arnold's denunciation of Grant's style for the improper use of *shall*, *will*, *should*, and *would*. Mark thought the General's style ranked with that of Caesar's *Commentaries* "for its simplicity, naturalness and purity." Mark was hypersensitive about his Gargantuan project to produce the largest single royalty check for the benefit of a hero's widow and could not tolerate such petty flaw-finding.

In his speech on "General Grant's Grammar," which is supposed to have been delivered before the Army and Navy Club of New York City, Mark goes after Arnold's purism vigorously:

People may hunt out what microscopic motes they please, but, after all, the fact remains, and cannot be dislodged, that General Grant's book is

¹⁹ This article is unsigned, unpublished, and incomplete. It appears as Item 14 in DeVoto's check list of the Mark Twain Papers (copyright 1946 by the Mark Twain Company).

²⁰ The item is unsigned, incomplete, and is numbered Item 75 in DeVoto's check list (Mark Twain Papers).

²¹ *Murray's Magazine*, I, 130 ff., 763 ff. (Jan., Feb., 1887).

a great and, in its peculiar department, a unique and unapproachable literary masterpiece. In their line there is no higher literature than those modest, simple memoirs. Their style is at least flawless and no man could improve upon it, and great books are weighed and measured by their style and matter, and not by the trimmings and shadings of their grammar.²²

Clemens's next important tiff with Arnold resulted from the Englishman's censuring of the American press in "Civilization in the United States," which was written shortly before Arnold's death and first appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1888. Arnold had good cause to take the American newspaper to task for its "sensation-mongering," "irreverence," and deception. In fact Mark had frequently been as bitter towards it with less provocation. But when his English opponent criticized his nation's newspapers, he rallied rather brilliantly to the defense.

"The American Press" is a curious item.²³ It is a five-page proofsheets which was corrected and revised by Mark Twain. The author used the first part of it to pad out Chapter X of that anemic novelette, *The American Claimant* (1892). Here, as part of a debate at a Mechanics' Club, it loses both its original function and its edge. The speech could not have been written later than January, 1892, or earlier than April, 1888, and notebook parallels suggest the earlier date. It is possible, however, that Clemens withheld it because of Arnold's death on April 15, 1888.

THE AMERICAN PRESS

Goethe says somewhere that "the thrill of awe"—that is to say, *reverence*—"is the best thing humanity has."—Matthew Arnold.

I should say that if one were searching for the best means to efface and kill in a whole nation the discipline of respect, one could do no better than take the American newspapers.—Matthew Arnold.

Response.

Mr. Arnold judged of our newspapers without stopping to consider what their mission was. He judged them from the European standpoint: and he could not have found an improperer one to judge an American newspaper from.

²² This speech was not written in 1886, as Paine had indicated on the typescript. Arnold did not start working on his review until after November 27, 1886, and Mark did not have access to the portions he quotes until February, 1887, or afterward.

²³ Item 102 in Paine's check list of the Mark Twain Papers (copyright 1946 by the Mark Twain Company).

Take the most important function of a journal in any country, and what is it? To furnish the news? No—that is secondary. Its first function is the guiding and moulding of public opinion, the propagating of national feeling and pride in the national name—in a word, the keeping the people in love with their country and its institutions, and shielded from the allurements of alien and inimical systems. If this premiss be granted—and certainly none will deny it—Mr. Arnold mistook for a flaw in our journalism a thing which is not a flaw at all, but its supremest merit. . . .

Mr. Arnold, with his trained eye and intelligent observation, ought to have perceived that the very quality which he so regretfully missed from our press—respectfulness, reverence—is exactly the thing which would make our press useless to us if it had it—rob it of the very thing which differentiates it from all other journalism on the globe and makes it distinctively and preciously American. Its frank and cheerful irreverence is by all odds the most valuable quality it possesses. For its mission—overlooked by Mr. Arnold—is to stand guard over a nation's liberties, not its humbugs and shams. And so it must be armed with ridicule, not reverence. If during fifty years you could impose the blight of English journalistic solemnity and timid respect for shams upon the press, it is within the possibilities that the republic would perish; and if during fifty years you could expose the stately and mossgrown shams of Europe to the fire of a flouting and scoffing press like ours, it is almost a moral certainty that monarchy and its attendant crimes would disappear from Christendom. . . .

Let us sincerely hope that this fact will remain a fact forever: for to my mind a discriminating irreverence is the creator and protector of human liberty—even as the other thing is the creator and protector of all forms of human slavery, bodily and mental. . . .

The reader may not grant Mark's Colonel McCormick premise, but if he does, he is neatly caught in a finely woven web of logic. "The American Press" is one of Clemens's best anti-Arnold polemics. The author advances with clean, swift strokes reminiscent of Tom Paine's rhetoric. Oddly enough, this frank, cheerful, discriminating irreverence which he admires in the guardians of our national liberties aptly describes the dominant mood of his *Connecticut Yankee*, as it finally emerges.

Before attempting to assess the effect which the Arnold controversy had on the writing of *A Connecticut Yankee*, it is necessary to mention an interesting manuscript which seems to be

Clemens's parting shot at the English critic.²⁴ This article is the earlier of two Harriet Shelley studies. The second of these was published first in the July, August, and September numbers of the *North American Review* in 1894, and the earlier version, based on Arnold's Shelley essay (*Nineteenth Century*, January, 1888), has never been published, although it has far more ironic verve than the more familiar "In Defense of Harriet Shelley."

Mark intuitively exposes the Victorian apologists who were attempting to whitewash Shelley's disreputable behavior—a task which has just been achieved by scholars after a generation of painstaking research.²⁵

Clemens sensed that Shelley had horribly wronged Harriet and took Arnold to task for trying to canonize the poet as a saint. "Mr. Arnold," says Mark, "bravely and candidly stripped his hideous hero naked—that was fine; then he threw over him the all-concealing, all-excusing ulster of 'lack of the sense of humor,' and tranquilly, no ecstatically, resumed his worship."

With biting sarcasm he compares Arnold's cautious apology with the reputation of Injun Aleck, "a winning and beautiful and elegant Christian in the village where I was reared." Aleck had one little blemish—"one day he hanged his mother." When Arnold ends his famous essay with "the Shelley of marvelous gentleness, a perfect gentleman," Mark retorts: "It is the very picture of Aleck."

The course of Mark Twain's changing attitude towards the English is clearly marked in his notebook entries, his unpublished and partly published manuscripts. By 1879 he had shifted from a pro-British sentiment to the belief that America would "presently be indifferent to being looked down upon by a nation no bigger and no better." By the close of 1883 he was so concerned over the attacks of the English critics in general and the distinguished visiting poet-critic in particular as to single out Matthew Arnold as the chief target for his defense of American civilization. He wrangled with Arnold with increasing fury up to the publication of *A Connecticut Yankee*.

²⁴ A typescript copy listed in DeVoto's check list as Item 49, complete, signed, and unpublished (Mark Twain Papers). The MS was written between the date of the death of Arnold (April 15, 1888) and Mark's reading of Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, which Paine places in 1893.

²⁵ See R. M. Smith, *The Shelley Legend* (New York, 1945).

Throughout the controversy Clemens formulated no critique of Arnold's social or literary theories, which he understood only in a superficial way. He did make an occasional acute observation, like the denial of Arnold's absolute critical standard, but he failed to draw up any systematic refutation. Nevertheless the emotional impact of his tiff basically affected the composition of the *Yankee*.

Paine takes this view in his summary of the Arnold affair:

He even defended American newspapers, which he had himself more than once violently assailed for misreporting him and for other journalistic shortcomings, and he bitterly denounced every shaky British institution, touched upon every weak spot in hereditary rule. He did not print—not then—he was writing mainly for relief—without success, however, for he only kindled the fires of his indignation.²⁶

But this kindling of his indignation proved successful in two respects. When he took his Arthurian tale off the shelf where it had dozed for two years as a romance with no intensified inner purpose, he viewed it as the proper vehicle in which “to deliver a harsh judgment straight from the shoulder” on such British institutions not founded on the three “bottom courses of masonry” to any “respect-compelling civilization—equality, liberty, and humanity.”²⁷ Under the impetus of his anti-British sentiment old Malory himself lost most of his charm and became a target for ridicule. Matthew Arnold, so frequently on his mind from 1883 to 1889, evoked the spirit which transformed an unpromising sentimental romance into a promising satire. Secondly, the culminating effect of his controversy helped to break the literary lethargy which had smothered every attempt at sustained writing since the completion of *Huck Finn*. In short, Arnold stimulated a new direction and gave momentum to *A Connecticut Yankee*.

The transfer or fusion of mood is clearly discernible in the notebooks. Clemens began setting down his arraignments of royalty and nobility as notes for the *Yankee* in April, 1888, and filled page after page with them until the book was published in December, 1889.²⁸

²⁶ Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 873.

²⁷ A ten-page inkscrip on the Arnold affair. Item 15 in DeVoto's check list. (Mark Twain Papers).

²⁸ See Notebooks 22, 23, 24, in the Mark Twain Papers. Much of the material is reproduced with little concern for dates in Paine's *Mark Twain's Notebook* (New York, 1935); pp. 195-209.

He never really broke a literary lance with Sir Matthew. There was no exchange of blows. For the most part Clemens was practicing slants and strokes in the privacy of the Hartford billiard room or the Elmira hilltop. Nevertheless, the English critic proved a valuable adversary, for without his taunts at American mediocrity, his opinion that America's only hope lay in cultivating "her righteous remnant," The Boss would never have entered the lists either to destroy the persistent influence of the sixth century or to be its victim.

III

By October 5, 1888, Clemens's literary acorn had taken root in acidic soil and was bursting with vitality. On this date he wrote to Theodore Crane:

DEAR THEO,—I am here in Twichell's house at work, with the noise of the children and an army of carpenters to help. Of course they don't help, but neither do they hinder. It's like a boiler-factory for racket, and in nailing a wooden ceiling onto the room under me the hammering tickles my feet amazingly sometimes, and jars my table a good deal; but I never am conscious of the racket at all, and I move my feet into position of relief without knowing when I do it. I began here Monday morning, and have done eighty pages since. I was so tired last night that I thought I would lie abed and rest, to-day; but I couldn't resist. I mean to try to knock off to-morrow, but it's doubtful if I do. I want to finish the day the machine finishes, and a week ago the closest calculations for that indicated Oct. 22—but experience teaches me that their calculations will miss fire, as usual. . . .²⁹

The steam was in the boiler, and his pressure soared upwards until he confronted the problem of reading proof.

Of course he was too optimistic about the time required for completing the *Yankee*; he was still working on the manuscript a year later. By August, 1889, he was moving into the proofreading stage—a process which he loathed and consistently shirked. Livy was not up to the job; so he turned to Howells. His letter is remarkably similar in tone to one he wrote five years earlier to Howells about reading the *Huckleberry Finn* proof:

²⁹ A. B. Paine (ed.), *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York, 1917), II, 500.

ELMIRA, N. Y., Aug. 5/89

DEAR HOWELLS:

Mrs. Clemens will not listen to reason, or argument, or supplication: I've got to get you to read the book. I have stood the pelting for all these months; but I am only human, & I am tuckered out. I have stood between you and this sorrow with a steadfastness which there is none but me to admire; but I admire it. I wouldn't have done it for another man; & I can never do it again, even for you, for I am permanently debilitated.

But you will not have to take it at a bite. I will spread it thin, & leave resting-spells all along. The proofs, thoroughly corrected, & then revised & re-corrected, shall go to you as re-revises, from time to time, from the office in New York.

If Mrs. Clemens could have sat down & read the book herself, I could have got you off, maybe, but she has not had an hour's use of her eyes for reading since she had the pink-eye six months ago. So she is afraid I have left coarsenesses which ought to be rooted out, & blasts of opinion which are so strongly worded as to repel instead of persuade. I hardly think so. I dug out many darlings of these sorts, & throttled them with grief; then Stedman went through the book & marked for the grave all that *he* could find, & I sacrificed them, every one. So you see your work has been lightened for you the best I could. Now then, God be with you!

Ys ever

MARK.³⁰

Howells was enthusiastic about the book from the first. Its revolutionary slant delighted him. He did, however, predict that some of the pious churchgoing public would get after the author for his irreverence. This fact may account for the deletion of the interview which The Boss has with Sandy's lunatic who thinks himself the Recording Angel.³¹ But Howells thought few changes were necessary. It was a "glorious book"; it was simply "titanic."

Grateful for the encouragement, Clemens wrote back that he was glad Howells shared his sentiment concerning the holiness of the American and French revolutions. "Well," he concluded, "my book is written—let it go. But if it were only to write over again there wouldn't be so many things left out. They burn in me; and they keep multiplying and multiplying; but now they can't ever

³⁰ Unpublished letter in the William Dean Howells Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

³¹ A 22-page inkscript, Item 22 in DeVoto's check list (Mark Twain Papers).

be said. And besides, they would require a library—and a pen warmed-up in hell.”³²

When Clemens heard of the crumbling of the Brazilian monarchy, he gloated over his forthcoming blast at kingship. “Another throne has gone down,” he wrote Sylvester Baxter of the *Boston Herald*, “and I swim in oceans of satisfaction. . . .”³³

But the English publishers, Chatto and Windus, anticipated the British reception of a book in which a Connecticut Yankee announces the dissolution of King Arthur’s monarchy and proclaims the British Republic, and they suggested a softening of the American edition for English consumption. Mark Twain’s indignant refusal demonstrates that he felt further trimming meant cutting the heart out of the book. It also illustrates again how closely his satirical purpose is identified with his quarrel with Arnold and the English critics.

To Messrs. Chatto & Windus in London, Eng.:

GENTLEMEN,—Concerning *The Yankee*, I have already revised the story twice; and it has been read critically by W. D. Howells and Edmund Clarence Stedman, and my wife has caused me to strike out several passages that have been brought to her attention, and to soften others. Furthermore, I have read chapters of the book in public where Englishmen were present and have profited by their suggestions.

Now, mind you, I have taken all this pains because I wanted to say a Yankee mechanic’s say against monarchy and its several natural props, and yet make a book which you would be willing to print exactly as it comes to you, without altering a word.

We are spoken of (by Englishmen) as a thin-skinned people. It is you who are thin-skinned. An Englishman may write with the most brutal frankness about any man or institution among us and we republish him without dreaming of altering a line or a word. But England cannot stand that kind of a book written about herself. It is England that is thin-skinned. It causeth me to smile when I read the modifications of my language which have been made in my English editions to fit them for the sensitive English palate.

Now, as I say, I have taken laborious pains to so trim this book of offense that you might not lack the nerve to print it just as it stands. I am going to get the proofs to you just as early as I can. I want you to read it carefully. If you can publish it without altering a single word,

³² Paine (ed.), *Letters*, II, 513-514.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 520-521.

go ahead. Otherwise, please hand it to J. R. Osgood in time for him to have it published at my expense.

This is important, for the reason that the book was not written for America; it was written for England. So many Englishmen have done their sincerest best to teach us something for our betterment that it seems to me high time that some of us should substantially recognize the good intent by trying to pry up the English nation to a little higher level of manhood in turn.

Very truly yours,
S. L. CLEMENS³⁴

The general drift of Mark Twain's "laborious pains" to revise his manuscript so that the book would not appear abusive or offensive is clearly marked in his struggle to write an appropriate preface. The discarded one which Paine includes as Appendix S in the biography seems the earliest. In it Mark stresses the cruelty of medieval laws and defends the Connecticut Blue Laws as "insipidly mild, by contrast with the bloody and atrocious laws of England of the same period." It has the ring of one of his Arnold diatribes. The story, he suggests, is "merely incidental." In his next effort the anti-British sentiment is absent and he concludes: "If any are inclined to rail at our present civilization, why—there is no hindering him, but he ought to sometimes contrast it with what went before & take comfort—& hope, too."³⁵

By the time he wrote the preface as it now stands, his sense of humor had reduced the urgency of the monarchy issue:

The question as to whether there is such a thing as divine right of kings is not settled in this book. It was found too difficult. That the executive head of a nation should be a person of lofty character and extraordinary ability, was manifest and indisputable; that none but the Deity could select that head unerringly, was also manifest and indisputable; that the Deity ought to make that selection, then, was likewise manifest and indisputable; consequently, that He does make it, as claimed, was an unavoidable deduction . . . it was judged better to take the other tack in this book, (which must be issued this fall,) and then go into training and settle the question in another book. It is of course

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 524-525.

³⁵ An unused Preface from *A Connecticut Yankee*. Listed as Item 23 in DeVoto's check list (Mark Twain Papers).

a thing which ought to be settled, and I am not going to have anything particular to do next winter anyway.³⁶

A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur was published in England on December 6, 1889, concurrently with the American edition. Howells's review in *Harper's* was the most eulogistic of numerous favorable reactions. In England, with the exception of the *Review of Reviews*, the leading journals ignored the book, and the smaller fry dismissed it as dull, offensive, and didactic. W. T. Stead of the *Review of Reviews* boldly favored the Yankee vigor of the book and complimented Mark Twain for getting "directlier at the heart of the masses than any of the blue-china set of nimminy-pimminy criticasters."³⁷

Mark Twain was not satisfied with his English reception and felt that the major critics were snubbing him. So with the thought of getting Andrew Lang to rally to his support, he wrote the famous letter which is the clearest exposition of what he considered to be his major function as an author. "Indeed," he wrote, "I have been misjudged, from the very first. I have never tried in even one single instance, to help cultivate the cultivated classes. I was not equipped for it, either by native gifts or training. And I never had any ambition in that direction, but always hunted for bigger game—the masses."³⁸

If he had known that his English friend had just written a tribute to Malory's prose style to be included in Sommer's edition of *Le Morte D'Arthur*, he might have hesitated about enlisting his aid. Lang's reply—so heartily endorsed by Paine—is a sad case of equivocation. He admires *Huckleberry Finn*. He gets a wholesome laugh out of tall tales like the Old Ram, but he is shocked by the *Yankee*, which he judges without reading:

Now I do not mean to assert that Mark Twain is "an impeccable artist," but he is just as far from being a mere coarse buffoon. Like other people, he has his limitations. Even Mr. Gladstone, for instance, does not shine as a Biblical critic, nor Mark Twain as a critic of Italian art nor as a guide to the Holy Land. I have abstained from reading his work on an American at the Court of King Arthur, because here Mark Twain is not, and cannot be, at the proper point of view. He has not the knowl-

³⁶ Mark Twain, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (New York, 1889), p. xv.

³⁷ *Review of Reviews*, I, 144 (February, 1890).

³⁸ Paine (ed.), *Letters*, II, 527.

edge which would enable him to be a sound critic of the Middle Ages. An Arthurian Knight in New York or in Washington would find as much to blame, and justly, as a Yankee at Camelot. Let it be admitted that Mark Twain often and often sins against good taste, that some of his passages were only good enough for the corner of a newspaper.³⁹

It is true that Mark Twain's last major work, like even the best of his books, contains some passages "which were only good enough for the corner of a newspaper." The opening scene, padded with the Malory excerpt "How Sir Launcelot Slew Two Giants," drags. Attention is not engaged until the stranger begins his curious story. The narrative mood shifts from the comic to the pathetic in Chapter XXVII, and the ensuing incidents of the smallpox hut ending with the witch-hanging are amateurishly conceived and written. Nevertheless, the story triumphs over its structural defects as surely as does *Don Quixote* or *Gulliver's Travels*, both of which embody incidents contrary to the spirit of the whole. The success is partly due to the fact that the reader accepts much under "the lawless operation of a dream" which would otherwise disturb him—as Howells observed in his *Harper's* review.

"A Yankee mechanic's say against monarchy and its several natural props" miraculously escapes the nationalistic bias and fury so apparent in the notebook entries and in many of the Arnold tracts. Too much has been made of the indignant blasts in *A Connecticut Yankee* and not enough emphasis placed on its dominant tone of genial mockery.

Clemens, of course, prefers the nineteenth century to the sixth; but he is not blind to the imperfections of the American eighties. Trade-union haters and high-wage protectionists are ridiculed in Chapter XXXIII. Under The Boss's reforms the Round Table is converted into the Stock Exchange, with Sir Launcelot president of the board. The advertising of Peterson's prophylactic toothbrush is a hilarious gibe at American business methods. Then, as the final master touch, the outcome of the Yankee's ruthless republican revolution is left undetermined. The endeavor to prove one civilization superior to another is as fruitless as the quest for the Holy Grail.

Some critics interpret the finale as revealing Mark Twain with

³⁹ *Illustrated London News*, XCVIII, 222 (Feb. 14, 1891). Reprinted in part in Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 895-897.

one foot over the precipice of despair, as a symptom of his forthcoming fulminations against the "damned human race." There is a measure of truth in the view because pessimism always lurked as a pressure within his paradoxical nature ready to rush to the surface. But is not the climactic mood, in fact, the dominant tone of the *Yankee*, the very essence of Mark Twain's humor at its best? It may assume the shape of fantasy, travesty, or extravaganza, but inwardly it is the human spirit reducing the mysteries of life to livable proportions.

So the unpromising germ cell of a burlesque on knight-errantry, conceived in the fall of 1884, finally comes to life as a robust Yankee mechanic who ironically attempts to lift the British out of their slough of medievalism. And Matthew Arnold's indictment of American Philistinism and cultural mediocrity provided an inner drive to the narrative which was languishing in 1886.⁴⁰ Some aspects, however, of the origin of *A Connecticut Yankee* defy complete analysis.

How is it that Mark Twain succeeds in writing his most purposeful satire in the midst of a period when he is dissipating so much energy on his publishing firm, the Paige typesetter, and other enterprises? Usually his works lack even one clearly etched purpose. In the *Yankee* he handles the various levels of social, political, religious, and literary satire in a commendable manner. No adequate answer can be given. Perhaps Howells put his finger on the enigma when he said, "We feel that in this book our arch-humorist imparts more of his personal quality than in anything else he has done."

The greatest miracle is that the pen "warmed-up in hell" shed so much divine comedy. For wherever the *Yankee's* defiance has made an enemy, its good-natured, rough-hewn advocacy of the rights of man has won a thousand friends.

⁴⁰ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 403. Jones declares that "only Whitman in his rude colloquial way, phrased the danger 'precisely' of Arnold's antidemocratic criticism. Since Whitman's comments to Traubel can be matched by many excerpts from the notebooks, and since the *Yankee* in one respect is Clemens's answer to Arnold, Jones's assertion is an overstatement.

HEBRAIC LORE IN MAXWELL ANDERSON'S WINTERSET

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THE STRONG HEBREW ELEMENT in Maxwell Anderson's poetic drama *Winterset* has long been recognized; Esdras, obviously the prophet of Jewish apocalyptic literature, supplies the audience with the necessary key to the rabbinical wisdom which lies at the basis of the problem of justice argued in the play. But relatively few, perhaps, have realized the full extent to which the rabbinical wisdom permeates the play. Thus it is possible to overlook the significance of even the simple fact necessary to the full understanding of the play, that the bridge-setting serves as more than the physical background of the action; in reality, the bridge dominates the play as symbol of space and time. Since Esdras steadfastly visualizes the problem of justice in a universal setting or moral process of history which he defines in terms of space-time imagery, it becomes clear that the meaning of the play cannot be understood apart from Esdras's Jewish teachings. The purpose of this essay is to establish the Hebraic lore from which the space-time imagery is derived as the intellectual framework from within which Anderson seeks, first, to elucidate his view of the contrast between abstract justice and its practical administration in courts of law and, secondly, to portray the effort of men when justice fails to wrest something from defeat and death—in a word, to indicate how men are ennobled in the midst of tragedy.

The governing idea of *Winterset* is of "justice deferred" until a final Judgment Day: each character stands in expressive relation to this concept; each space-time image is focused in it. Esdras is its *raisonneur* in the play; and as he counsels in turn his son Garth, Judge Gaunt, and Mio, he gives expression to the Jewish Messianic belief upon which the concept of "justice deferred" is based. It will be well to examine the Jewish Messianic belief in itself before determining its function in the play.

The Messianic ideal was born in times of the Jewish nation's loss of political independence, but the factor which contributed to

its spread was the indestructible Jewish belief in divine justice which prescribed an ultimate redemption in a national restoration. From the conviction that the Jews were the chosen people of God, there arose in times of distress and exile—the Maccabean wars, the fall of the Temple, the Bar Kochba uprising, the rise of Islam, and countless other moments of degradation—the conviction that God would one day bestow on Israel glory and peace; God would fulfil his covenant made with David and his descendants. The redemptive belief rests on the other idea that history is a moral process with a goal towards which it is moving. Consequently, although as an eschatology the stress is on the final condition of man when he is completely liberated from the world in a full fellowship with God, the redemptive idea, at the same time, accepts the condition of the world itself as a necessary phase in the historical procession towards the goal of redemption. Thus the real emphasis in Messianic teachings is not so much on the goal of redemption itself as it is on the conduct of men while awaiting release from the woes of the world when God—or his appointed Messiah—would appear and punish their persecutors. For this reason a condition sternly imposed on Jews in order to hasten the advent of the Messiah was that the Jewish nation itself, to its last member, be purged of sin. Cast out because of their sins, the Jews would be restored because of their righteousness. That is to say, Israel's enemies would surely be punished, but Israel's real and active restoration was being effected as a result of the affliction through which the godly part of the Israelite nation was passing. Thus the Jews were indeed the chosen people, but chosen for suffering. The Jew knew his exile to be penance which could be neither abated nor modified until all Jews were under godly influence and, even, as the idea arose later, until the Jews had been totally dispersed in exile over all the earth. In symbol and in action, *Winterset* attempts to grasp and comprehend these Jewish Messianic beliefs. The bridge-setting and the space-time imagery symbolize the exile; the action explores searchingly the redemptive attitude toward the "accommodation" of the natural world as the ancillary step toward the supernatural world by bringing Mio, the protagonist, to the larger mastery of life and larger vision of justice denied to him as long as he is dominated by revenge and hate of those responsible for his father's judicial murder. It is altogether obvious that Mio is a modern Hamlet who

also bears an onerous burden of revenge of his father's death, but unlike Hamlet the Dane, Mio must *not* seek to vindicate his father—he must defer justice, as Esdras points out from the Messianic point of view, until God's Judgment Day. Revenge is a wild justice, as Francis Bacon has said in one of his essays; this Mio must learn before the end of the play.

I

Trock the gangster's visit to Garth and his command enforced by threat of violence that Garth continue to suppress the incriminating evidence in the Romagna case precipitate the first statement in the play of Esdras's prophetic view of justice. Surprisingly, Esdras counsels that Garth is under no ethical compulsion to reveal the truth. He advises his son that it is not morally necessary that he clear Mio's father of the crime by disclosing the suppressed evidence which would incriminate Trock instead. Stung by Trock's insolence, Garth desires to proclaim his guilt in concealing the evidence, but Esdras points out:

Yet till it's known you bear no guilt at all—
unless you wish.

(Act I, scene 2, p. 19)¹

Esdras's counsel to Garth is so far beyond the cynicism of the Eleventh Commandment: "Thou shalt not be found out," that he is giving utterance to true Messianic belief. The whole context of his speech recalls the fiery prophetism of Isaiah and establishes in the play the dominant mood of prophecy:

The days go by like film,
like a written scroll, a figured veil
unrolling out of darkness into fire
and utterly consumed. And on this veil,
running in sounds and symbols of men's minds
reflected back, life flickers and is shadow
going toward flame. Only what men can see
exists in that shadow. Why must you rise and cry out:
That was I, there in the ravelled tapestry,
there in that pistol flash, when the man was killed.
I was there, and was one, and am bloodstained!

¹ Maxwell Anderson, *Winterset* (Washington, D. C., 1935); all quotations by permission of the author.

Let the wind
and the fire take that hour to ashes out of time
and out of mind!

(Act I, scene 2, p. 19)

Esdras's advice has a double significance. In the first place, he tells Garth that in this perishing world being consumed in the unquenchable fires of God's judgment, a man must disencumber himself of that which passes among men for justice and guilt. Esdras, that is, does not oppose the law, nor does he seek to repeal it, since the Millennium itself will do away with the law entirely. He means that Garth's real absolution will consist, not in proclaiming his guilt in the market place, but that his guilt is absolved ("unless you wish") only in his own penance and atonement; in this way only does the gate to the kingdom of heaven open. Esdras explicitly deprecates the world's justice:

This thing that men call justice,
this blind snake that strikes men down in the dark,
mindless with fury, keep your hand back from it,
pass by in silence—let it be forgotten, forgotten!

(Act I, scene 2, p. 19)²

Esdras's attitude towards the law is admirably summed up in Matthew 5:20 by Jesus as he voiced the hope of his own day for Messianic fulfilment: "But I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Garth's pharisaical righteousness is better than callous disregard for the innocent victims of Trock's conspiracy of silence, but it is not enough. In penance (e.g., "unless you wish"), there is Garth's atonement. Garth's penance completed—or rather, the penance of all men completed—as a necessary condition of the Messiah's advent, then the clamor of men for worldly righteousness and justice is rendered purely supererogatory. Trock, on the other hand, will be found out on Judgment Day; actually, the fact that his tubercular condition does not permit him more than six years' life is the sign of his inevitable fate in the end.

In the second place, it is significant that Esdras assigns Garth's pharisaism to his youth:

² Below (p. 109) Esdras again refers to "mythical justice."

When we're young
we have faith in what is seen, but when we're old
we know that what is seen is traced in air
and built on water.

(Act I, scene 2, pp. 18-19)

Similarly, Miriamne's youthfulness:

Miriamne. Is it better
to tell a lie and live?

Esdra's. Yes, child. It's better.

Miriamne. But if I had to do it—
I think I'd die.

Esdra's. Yes, child. Because you're young.

Miriamne. Is that the only reason?

Esdra's. The only reason.

(Act I, scene 2, p. 20)

The contrast between Garth's and Miriamne's youthful inexperience and Esdra's experienced realization of the truth in prophetism is the first indication of the way in which the entire problem is seen in a time perspective. It is true that as the story unfolds, the audience gradually become aware of the time perspective in that they can perceive a past deed (the judicial murder of Romagna) projecting itself into the present lives of each character. But Esdra's admonition to his children's youthfulness should be seen as the first direct reference to the pervasive time symbolism. On the other hand, the separate category of space symbols is not introduced and fused with the time symbols until the exile theme appears in the play, as we shall presently see.

In the foregoing scene, the entire problem of the play, intellectually and dramatically, is adumbrated. The contrast between abstract justice and its practical administration in courts of law is enforced in such a manner that the spiritual awakening of the men of good will in the play is delayed until they reject the mundane justice and willingly defer to God's ideal justice. The men of good will discover their human limitations and as a result face life with a new wisdom. As Garth acquires new wisdom, so does Mio. He has nourished his youth on hate, and only in deferring to God's final judgment can Mio find the spiritual lustration which in the fulness of time will bring him the justice he so passionately desires. Similarly, Judge Gaunt finds surcease from his troubled

conscience for having sentenced Mio's father by recognizing in a humbler spirit the limitations on human law. Dramatically, therefore, the movement of ideas in the play moves the action inexorably toward the central discovery or recognition scene which Anderson has insisted is indispensable to great drama. According to Anderson:

A play should lead up to and away from a central crisis, and this crisis should consist in a discovery by the leading character which has an indelible effect on his thought and emotion and completely alters his course of action.

If the plot the dramatist has in mind does not contain a playable episode in which the hero or heroine makes an emotional discovery, a discovery that practically dictates the end of the story, then such an episode must be inserted—and if no place can be found for it the subject is almost certainly a poor one for the theatre. If this emotional discovery is contained in the story, but is not central, then it must be made central, and the whole action revolve around it.

Now this prime rule has a corollary which is just as important as the rule itself. The hero who is to make the central discovery in a play must not be a perfect man. He must have some variation of what Aristotle calls a tragic fault—and the reason he must have it is that when he makes his discovery he must change for the better.

From the point of view of the playwright, then, the essence of a tragedy, or even of a serious play, is the spiritual awakening, or regeneration, of his hero.⁸

Upon Mio devolves the main line of action, the main discovery or spiritual regeneration; the discoveries of their own limitations by Garth and Judge Gaunt are of secondary importance.

II

Act II opens with a Talmudic utterance on space and time; it closes with Mio's symbolic acceptance of exile. Drawing upon his store of rabbinical wisdom, Esdras comments:

I remember when I came to the end
of all the Talmud said, and the commentaries,
then I was fifty years old—and it was time
to ask what I had learned. I asked this question
and gave myself the answer. In all the Talmud
there was nothing to find but the names of things,

⁸ Maxwell Anderson, *The Essence of Tragedy* (Washington, D. C., 1939), pp. 7 ff.

set down that we might call them by those names
and walk without fear among things known. Since then
I have had twenty years to read on and on
and end with Ecclesiastes. Names of names,
evanid days, evanid nights and days
and words that shift their meaning.

Space is time,
that which was is now—the men of tomorrow
live, and this is their yesterday. All things
that were and are and will be, have their being
then and now and to come. If this means little
when you are young, remember it. It will return
to mean more when you are old.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 59)

Since space and time are separate metaphysical categories in any variety of cosmological speculation, it is by no means clear why they are equated in Esdras's mind. In the light, however, of the central importance of the exile in Messianic belief, the space-time identification becomes clear; and, instantly, the symbolism of the bridge which dominates the play as its physical setting from beginning to end is laid bare. Since the total dispersion of the Jews over the face of the earth was made a condition of the Messiah's advent, Mio similarly must assume self-imposed exile as a result of his spiritual awakening. From the point of view of Messianic otherworldliness, consequently, space (the exile) and time (the eternal life of blessedness) are indivisible. To be sure, the bridge as a reality of masonry and steel spans the East River and connects New York's East Side with the neighboring borough of Brooklyn. But by symbolizing in the bridge exilic space and time, Anderson spans the material and spiritual worlds and forces the dramatic problem of justice into a perspective where the problem cannot be viewed otherwise than *sub specie aeternitatis*. Thus the bridge, the contrast between youth's inexperience and old age's wisdom, the recurrent space-time imagery, Mio's rejection of revenge and willingness to defer to God's justice—each is appropriate to the others and all together constitute the ground of the play's action as a coherent whole. In this connection, also, the reader of the play may note a second feature of the play's setting which the spectator in the theater might or might not overlook. According to the printed text, Es-

dras's home in the tenement-basement abuts the bridge. The house is literally a prison, incarcerating its inmates in a life of poverty, to which has come the crowning affliction of Trock's menace; certainly Trock's insistence that Garth remain indoors in order to avoid the police establishes the basement as a prison. At the same time, however, the tenement is not only a prison, but a fortress, or the enclosure of a fortress, a barricade against the world outside:

The scene is the bank of a river under a bridgehead. A gigantic span starts from the rear of the stage and appears to lift over the heads of the audience and out to the left. At the right rear is a wall of solid supporting masonry. To the left an apartment building abuts against the bridge and forms the left wall of the stage with a dark basement window and a door in the brick wall. To the right, and in the foreground, an outcropping of original rock makes a barricade behind which one may enter through a cleft, etc.

Thus the solid masonry and the rock suggest simultaneously a prison and a fortress, and the inference is clear that the prison of life from the Messianic point of view is convertible into a fortress of faith, a protection of the men of good will, an insurance of their reward of blessedness.

The space symbol reappears in Judge Gaunt's request for aid in finding his way home. The Judge's mind is under a cloud. As a result of his participation as presiding judge in the judicial murder of Mio's father, his conscience is troubled; and, like Garth and Mio, the Judge also requires spiritual awakening to divine justice:

Gaunt. Well, sir,

[To Esdras]

I shall lie under the deepest obligation
if you will set an old man on his path,
for I lack the homing instinct, if the truth
were known. North, east and south mean nothing to me
here in this room.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 64)

Esdras quietly replies: "I can put you in your way"—meaning that he can put the Judge in the way of wisdom.

Since a too sudden spiritual awakening to Messianic wisdom would be dramatically implausible, the Judge struggles to defend his past behavior and, at first, seeks pharisaic self-exculpation in a

violent attack on the professor of law who has reopened the Romagna case:

Professor Hobhouse—
that's the name—he wrote some trash about you
and printed it in a broadside.
—Since I'm here I can tell you
it's a pure fabrication—lacking facts
and legal import. Senseless and impudent,
written with bias—with malicious intent
to undermine the public confidence
in justice and the courts

(Act II, scene 1, p. 65)

Presently, however, the Judge's change for the better (in Anderson's formula) begins; his defense, the second time, of his judicial acts reveals the survival of the best in his nature and the attrition of the worst as he attempts to describe the unending conflict by means of which the judge *qua* judge stretches his powers to the utmost human reach to bring justice as it is practiced in law courts closer, and ever closer, to ideal, abstract justice. In an imperfect world, the Judge explains, justice at its best is imperfect. God has indeed endowed man with the truth, but the human vessel is weak. Reason can err and faith can be misplaced. The individual sometimes must be sacrificed for the common good. How hard, then, is the lot of the judge, who, godlike, must sit in judgment on men:

Would I have chosen
to rack myself with other men's despairs,
stop my ears, harden my heart, and listen only
to the voice of law and light, if I had hoped
some private gain for serving? In all my years
on the bench of a long-established commonwealth
not once has my decision been in question
save in this case. Not once before or since.
For hope of heaven or place on earth, or power
or gold, no man has had my voice, nor will
while I still keep the trust that's laid on me
to sentence and define.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 74)

The Judge continues:

For always, night and day,

there lies on my brain like a weight, the admonition:
see truly, let nothing sway you; among all functions
there's but one godlike, to judge.

Then see to it

you judge as a god would judge, with clarity,
with truth, with what mercy is found consonant
with order and law. Without law men are beasts,
and it's a judge's task to lift and hold them
above themselves. Let a judge be once mistaken
or step aside for friend, and a gap is made
in the dykes that hold back anarchy and chaos,
and leave men bond but free.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 74)

And, in any event:

It's better

as any judge can tell you, in such cases,
holding the common good to be worth more
than small injustice, to let the record stand,
let one man die.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 99)

The Judge's regeneration is subsidiary not only in the sense that he is not, after all, the hero of the play, but in the fact that his newly acquired humility aids, in the exchange of argumentation between Mio and the Judge, in bringing about Mio's change for the better.

Mio is too embittered and vindictive to respond to the Judge's line of reasoning until the Judge reverts to the doctrine, previously imparted to Garth, that the only righteousness is in the innermost reaches of the conscience and not in pharisaical show of justice. The Judge asks Mio:

Can it not be—and I ask this
quite honestly—that the great injustice lies
on your side and not mine?

(Act II, scene 1, p. 78)

The Judge continues:

Can you be sure—
I ask this in humility—that you,
who were touched closest by the tragedy;

may not have lost perspective—may have brooded
day and night on one theme—till your eyes are tranced
and show you one side only?

(Act II, scene 1, p. 78)

Mio is still not inclined to admit his overrighteous clamor for justice, but the Judge finds him out in his conscience:

Is it not true wherever
you walk, through the little town where you knew him well,
or flying from it, inland or by the sea,
still walking at your side and sleeping only
when you too sleep, a shadow not your own
follows, pleading and holding out its hands
to be delivered from shame?

(Act II, scene 1, p. 79)

That the Judge has finally struck home is evident from Mio's startled reply:

How you know that
by God I don't know.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 79)

With this speech the play's action has reached its turning point. His conscience aroused to his own prejudice and lust for revenge, Mio learns that "they also serve who only stand and wait." Mio's discovery of his human frailty is confirmed at the act's end by his acceptance of exile, the outward sign that he recognizes the imperfection of human justice and that he affirms his willingness to defer to God's justice. Act II closes with Mio's words:

Let the winds blow, the four winds of the world,
and take us to the four winds.

The first words opening Act III are Mio's, and now the reference to the exile is explicit:

This rather takes one off his high horse.—What I mean,
tough weather for a hegira.

(Act III, scene 1, pp. 113-114)

III

Mio's penance and exile cannot be abated, but it is Anderson's idea that they can be modified, or mitigated, rather, in the love which he has found for Miriamne. The love strand is woven into

the plot through Miriamne's failure to corroborate the death of Shadow, bringing the swift vengeance of Trock's gunmen on the heads of the two lovers. Previously Miriamne has said that she would rather die than tell a lie. Now for her brother's sake she does lie about the presence of Shadow's body in the next room. Mio, without bitterness, recognizes that she had little choice, humanly; and together, armed with their love, they bravely face Trock's wrath.

It is significant that the love is also seen in a space-time perspective. Mio is strongly drawn toward Miriamne, but at first in his embittered heart there is little room for love. Consequently, he rebuffs Miriamne:

What do you want?
 Your kisses burn me—and your arms.
 Don't offer
 what I'm never to have! I can have nothing. They say
 they'll cross the void sometime to the other planets
 and men will breathe in that air.
 Well, I could breathe there,
 but not here now. Not on this ball of mud.
 I don't want it.

(Act II, scene 1, p. 82)

Presently, however, Mio accepts exile, and stripped of hate and revenge, the love of Mio and Miriamne is consummated. Mio's reflections on his newly found love bring together, significantly, both the bridge symbol and space-time imagery. Suppose, says Mio,

Suppose one had
 only a short stub end of life, or held
 a flashlight with the batteries run down
 till the bulb was dim, and knew that he could live
 while the glow lasted. Or suppose one knew
 that while he stood in a little shelter of time
 under a bridgehead, say, he could live, and then,
 from then on, nothing. . . .

Miriamne

Let me put my arms around you, Mio.
 Then if anything comes, it's for me, too.

Mio

Only suppose

this circle's charmed! To be safe until he steps
from this lighted space into dark!
Time pauses here
and high eternity grows in one quarter-hour
in which to live.

(Act III, scene 1, pp. 119-120)

Trock's gunmen blast the lives of Mio and Miriamne, but not before the two lovers establish their bridgehead on an eternity of peace and love:

Mio

I think I'm waking
from a long trauma of hate and fear and death
that's hemmed me from my birth—and glimpse a life
to be lived in hope—

(Act III, scene 1, p. 125)

"And this to remember," Mio declares to Miriamne:

if I should die, Miriamne, this half-hour
is our eternity. I came here seeking
light in darkness, running from the dawn,
and stumbled on a morning.

(Act III, scene 1, p. 127)

Winterset represents an ambitious undertaking, perhaps the most serious attempt in the American theater to keep alive the great dramatic tradition of the Greeks and Shakespeare. It is open to question, however, whether the play is completely successful in accomplishment. One commentator, for example, takes the view that Anderson adheres too closely to the design of weakness followed by self-realization. As a result, he concludes, Anderson's poetic dramas show a tendency towards oversimplification.⁴ The criticism may be allowed; but, even so, the commentator tacitly agrees that Anderson has avoided the unpardonable error of separating his thesis from the play. Repeatedly and credibly, the thesis is fused to plot and character so that together they compose an integrated whole. In general, unless the reader approaches the play with a firmer understanding of its intellectual frame of ref-

⁴ Arthur M. Sampley, "Theory and Practice in Maxwell Anderson's Poetic Tragedies," *College English*, V, 412-418 (May, 1944).

erence, he will fail to recognize the movement of ideas in the play which produces at the play's end a clear issue, lifted by legitimate dramatic means off the level of topical significance (the Sacco-Vanzetti case) and upwards to the level of universal significance. The play is soundly conceived, one may conclude, although the poetry, upon occasion, as in Mio's mock-Tennysonian "the hobo has the stench of ten although his shoes are poor," may strike one as excruciatingly jejune.

CONCERNING DREISER'S MIND

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PART OF THEODORE DREISER'S interpretation of life, which determined the values upon which he based his fiction and about which he wrote often in his essays, is clearly understood. Whatever else he may also have been, Dreiser was a mechanist, a rather thoroughgoing determinist. He saw human behavior in terms of natural laws; the complexities of individual conduct were to be accounted for as physical—or, more precisely, chemical—reactions, which, if they in turn could be understood in all their complexity, would explain everything in this field that is explicable.

Concerning these facts about Dreiser there is, as I say, critical agreement. But beyond them there is another aspect of his thought the significance of which, I think, has been frequently misunderstood. To Mr. H. L. Mencken, Dreiser was a man with a divided mind. "Struggle as he may," writes Mr. Mencken,

and fume and protest as he may, he can no more shake off the chains of his intellectual and cultural heritage than he can change the shape of his nose. . . . Briefly described, [this heritage] . . . is the burden of a believing mind, a moral attitude, a lingering superstition. One-half of the man's brain, so to speak, wars with the other half. He is intelligent, he is thoughtful, he is a sound artist—but there come moments when a dead hand falls upon him, and he is once more the Indiana peasant, snuffing absurdly over imbecile sentimentalities, giving a grave ear to quackeries, snorting and eye-rolling with the best of them.¹

Mr. R. L. Duffus, too, feels that Dreiser's mind is not all of a piece, and describes him as "a romantic, a realist and a mystic all in one."² Percy H. Boynton reports, "He has seemed to think that he has subscribed to the mechanistic theory . . . yet over and over he has betrayed the suspicion that will not down in him, that there is an inward, impelling force, pushing mankind upward as well as onward."³ Lawrence Gilman, later quoted approvingly by Mencken, says, "It would perhaps be possible to defend the classification of

¹ *A Book of Prefaces* (Garden City, 1927), pp. 92-93.

² "Dreiser," *American Mercury*, VII, 71 (Jan., 1926).

³ *America in Contemporary Fiction* (Chicago, 1940), p. 136.

Mr. Dreiser as a sentimental mystic who employs the mimetic gestures of the realist."⁴

These critics, I take it, are not all referring to precisely the same qualities of Dreiser's work. Nevertheless, they all describe a disharmony in his mind: at one time he is a realist and at another he loses his grasp on sense data and becomes something different—two themselves use and one quotes the word *mystic*. The fourth, Boynton, likewise describes a quality of Dreiser's work to which the word *mysticism* might possibly be applied.

It is the purpose of this paper to inquire whether as a matter of fact Dreiser's mind was in a sense divided as these critics indicate and whether the term *mystic* should ever be applied to him. Such an investigation should be of importance in clarifying Dreiser's opinions concerning man's relation to the powers of the universe and in elucidating his method of arriving at those conclusions. But it should also be of value in connection with the broader problems of literary history. An important literary counteroffensive against naturalism and empiricism is now taking place, led by irrationalists, mystics. The possible connection of Dreiser, a chief of naturalists, with this counterrevolutionary movement should be determined.

I

The basis of Dreiser's opinions concerning man's place in the cosmos was what may be called—though wrongly—his superstition. His youthful life with his family was such as to predispose him to accept as true events which apparently had supernatural causes. I refer rather to the family folklore than to its religion, though the religion may also have been influential. For example, in discussing the circumstances of his own birth in *Dawn*, Dreiser writes:

... I have heard both of my parents and my eldest sister tell of having seen, at the time my mother was laboring with the birth of me, three maidens (graces, shall we say?) garbed in brightly-colored costumes, come up the brick walk that led from the street gate to our front door, into the room in which my mother lay, pass about the foot of the bed and finally through a rear door into a small, exitless back yard, from whence they could have escaped only by vanishing into thin air! According to my sister—who still maintains that she saw them—they gave

⁴ "The Biography of an Amorist," *North American Review*, CCIII, 293 (Feb., 1916). See also Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

no sign nor made observation of anything, but entered and left most gaily, dancing and laughing, their arms about each other's waists, flowers in their hair!⁵

Again, he relates an experience which befell his mother when, harassed by the responsibilities of wifehood and motherhood, she had momentarily wished the death of her three children. At once three lights came out of the woods, "bobbing lightly to and fro, processional-wise. They approached very near her—almost intentionally so, it seemed to her—then fluttered on, thistledown-wise, over a rail fence and into a woods beyond." She felt at once that her three children were going to die, and her intuition proved correct.⁶

Undoubtedly conditioned by the atmosphere of his home, Dreiser throughout his life encountered curious experiences inexplicable by known natural laws. When his mother died, his brother Rome hurried home, but knew in advance that he was arriving too late to find his mother alive because he had seen her in a dream riding a black horse.⁷ Once while Dreiser was traveling by automobile with a friend, the car caught fire. It was raining. His friend remarked that the episode was curious because the year before at the same spot, during a rain, his car had caught fire. This repetition of events started Dreiser reflecting how often situations in life repeat themselves. The only two leisurely trips which he had ever taken began under almost identical circumstances. During two operations which he had undergone, each at a critical period in his life, while he was under the anesthetic "certain characters" appeared to him "saying various things"—the same things both times—which impressed him greatly. "The appearance of a certain person in my life," he writes, "has always been heralded by a number of hunchbacks who came forward, passed—sometimes touching my elbow—and frequently looking at me in a solemn manner, as though some subconscious force, of which they were the tool, were saying to me, 'See, here is the sign.'" Dreiser also had esoteric experiences with a certain Jew. "For a period of over fifteen years in my life," he goes on,

at the approach of every marked change—usually before I have passed from an old set of surroundings to a new—I have met a certain smug, kindly little Jew, always the same Jew, who has greeted me warmly,

⁵ New York, 1931, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

held my hand affectionately for a few moments, and wished me well. I have never known him more intimately than that. Our friendship began at a sanatorium, at a time when I was quite ill. Thereafter my life changed and I was much better. Since then, as I say, always at the critical moment, he has never failed. I have met him in New York, Chicago, the South, in trains, on shipboard. It is always the same. Only the other day, after an absence of three years, I saw him again. I am not theorizing; I am stating facts.⁸

Not only do we have the direct word of Dreiser here that he was stating facts. Mr. Burton Rascoe, incredulously asking Dreiser whether he really believed this story about the Jew, was told by Dreiser, he says, "with all seriousness and frankness that he not only believed it, but that it had actually happened to him, that he had 'known it for a fact.'"⁹

Though critics have never developed the point in any detail, these occurrences to which Dreiser gave an interpretation which most people would call superstitious contributed significantly to the content of his narrative works.

Eugene Witla, the hero of *The "Genius,"* has experiences resembling those which Dreiser records of himself in his autobiographical works. "If his left eye twitched," Dreiser writes of Witla, he had observed of late he was going to have a quarrel with someone. . . . If he found a penny or any money, he was going to get money; for every notification of a sale of a picture with the accompanying check had been preceded by the discovery of a coin somewhere: once a penny in State Street, Chicago, on a rainy day—M. Charles wrote that a picture had been sold in Paris for two hundred; once a three-cent piece of the old American issue in the dust of a road in Tennessee—M. Charles wrote that one of his old American views had brought one hundred and fifty; once a penny in sands by the Gulf in Biloxi—another notification of a sale. So it went. He found that when doors squeaked, people were apt to get sick in the houses where they were; and a black dog howling in front of a house was a sure sign of death. He had seen this with his own eyes, this sign which his mother had once told him of as having been verified in her experience, in connection with the case of a man who was sick in Biloxi. He was sick, and a dog came running along the street and stopped in front of this place—a black dog—and the man died. Eugene saw this with his own eyes,—that is, the dog and the

⁸ *A Hoosier Holiday* (New York, 1916), pp. 346-348.

⁹ *Theodore Dreiser* (New York, 1925), p. 68.

sick man's death notice. The dog howled at four o'clock in the afternoon and the next morning the man was dead. He saw the crape on the door.¹⁰

Much later in the book, as Witla is applying for a job which he is very anxious to get, Dreiser writes:

Eugene went away once more, very grateful. He was thinking that Dula had always meant good luck to him. He had taken his first important drawing. The pictures he had published for him had brought him the favor of M. Charles. Dula had secured him the position that he now had. Would he be the cause of his getting this one?¹¹

In the short story "The Old Neighborhood," now published in *Chains*, a man who has made a material success of his life returns to the scenes of his first marriage, where he and his wife struggled with poverty until he deserted her. He recalls, among other things, details of the deaths of his two young sons. Oppressed by his poverty, he had wished himself free of his family, and had seen two starlike blue lights dancing past him, predicting, as it turned out, the deaths of the children.¹² Undoubtedly these were two of the lights which Dreiser's mother saw when, under similar conditions, her children became the victims of her death wish. According to Dorothy Dudley, incidentally, Dreiser once said that for him "The Old Neighborhood," of all his stories, came "nearest to art."¹³

So great was the fascination of these lights for Dreiser that in his one-act play "The Blue Sphere" he used a somewhat similar bluish ball as the instrument by which a supernatural being leads an idiot child to its death on the railroad tracks.¹⁴

Dreiser's notion of events mysteriously repeating themselves reappears in the sketch "Olive Brand," part of the collection called *A Gallery of Women*. Olive and her husband Jethro are deeply in love, but she dies. Presently Jethro, too, dies under peculiar circumstances. "'A queer thing,'" writes Dreiser,

his sister said to me. "This thing began just as Olive's did, with a slight sore throat and then this fever. On the sixth day, which was the day she died, we didn't expect him to live. His strength was nearly gone. And he talked of her all the time."

¹⁰ New York, 1923, p. 292.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

¹² *Chains* (New York, 1927), pp. 240-241.

¹³ *Forgotten Frontiers: Dreiser and the Land of the Free* (New York, 1932), p. 306.

¹⁴ *Plays of the Natural and Supernatural* (New York, 1926), pp. 59 ff.

Shortly after hearing these words, Dreiser says, he found himself, by a strange coincidence, under the window of the hospital room where Olive had died. "And then," he adds, "I said: Olive, Olive. Can it really be that you would call him? Are you that sorry?"¹⁵

The sketch "Giff" is built around alleged facts which, though they do not repeat experiences in Dreiser's life recorded elsewhere, should be mentioned here. "Giff" is the story of a frail, poor, honest woman who had the ability to read the future. He knows, Dreiser says, that many of her prophecies were accurate. He speaks at length of one, which was fulfilled in every detail, to the effect that on such and such a day at such and such an hour he would get a large sum of money; and of another that Nan, a friend of his, would "eat chicken and drink out of a tall, thin glass," a prediction which came abundantly true when she unexpectedly married a rich man.¹⁶

II

Now I wish to call attention to Dreiser's handling of all these events. Certainly his acceptance of them would appear at first to justify calling him superstitious. But superstition involves an irrational, unreasoning belief. One is not superstitious when one attempts to handle facts rationally but in spite of the attempt misinterprets. The method of attempting to observe the facts and draw conclusions from them is the method of science; it does not preclude error, but the conclusions thus reached are hardly to be called superstitious, no matter what they are. In the cases cited above from autobiographical works Dreiser reports his own observations. He himself has noticed how things repeat themselves; he has received curious communications while under anesthetics; he has observed that the hunchbacks and the Jew are signs foretelling the future. The transmutation of these materials into fiction involves only a shifting of symbols. Witla finds money, a dog, a friend acting as omens; and the fictional character echoes Dreiser's own assurances that these things are true, part of his own experience. In "Olive Brand," a sketch in which it is impossible to be certain of what is to be taken as true and what as fiction, Dreiser's previously expressed observation that events do mysteriously repeat themselves is echoed. The portentous lights, while not part of

¹⁵ *A Gallery of Women* (New York, 1929), I, 129.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 271 ff., 291 ff.

Dreiser's own experience, are drawn from that of his mother. Manifestly we are dealing here with attempts on Dreiser's part to imitate reality in the same way as he imitated it when he created Sister Carrie. If in the one case the method is that of the naturalist, so is it in the other.

It is these observations, leading, it is true, to possibly false conclusions, that formed the basis of Dreiser's notions about the supernatural; they proved that it existed, for these things could not happen by chance. That Dreiser reasoned in this fashion is shown by the following passage from "Giff," one of the sketches referred to above:

I am sure that to many this study of a seemingly vague, emasculate and even half-demented soothsayer or interpreter of tea leaves, dreams, and coffee grounds will appear not to be worthy the space given it. If accepted at all, it will be because it passes muster as ironic or sardonic humor, a characterization of a ridiculous and impossible lunacy. Yet for reasons which follow I crave for it most serious attention. For in the face of all inductive science and the strong and yet to me narrow walls of all naturalistic philosophy—the wholly electrical structure of Life with its electrons and atoms—I hold that behind these seemingly foolish predictions which "came true" moves something which is far more solidly real, if less material or electrical, than that which appears here: *i.e.*, knowledge, direction, control. For to my personal knowledge, these predictions did come true, if over periods of time varying from one to five years.¹⁷

The purposes of the "something" which transcends man are more extensively and dramatically presented in the little play "Laughing Gas" than anywhere else in Dreiser's work. It is striking that this play represents the experiences of a man on the operating table under the influence of nitrous oxide, a man to whom strange beings communicate. That its content once more reflects fairly accurately Dreiser's own experience seems likely when we remember that he also had received a revelation twice while being operated upon,¹⁸ though the opinions expressed here may also have been drawn consciously from Dreiser's observation of life.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 261.

¹⁸ At the end of *Plays of the Natural and Supernatural*, I must add, appear excerpts from two works, one by Benjamin P. Blood, the other by William James, commenting upon the fact that nitrous oxide does in fact produce in one under its influence a sense of profound revelation. These excerpts occupy four pages, which are not numbered consecutively with the rest of the volume, but which follow p. 228.

"A tool, a machine," say mysterious beings to the patient, you spin and spin on a given course through new worlds and old¹⁹ You are a mere machine run by forces which you cannot understand²⁰ Round and round, operation upon operation, world upon world, hither and yon, so you come and go. The same difficulty, the same operation, ages and worlds apart. Your whole life repeated detail by detail except for slight changes²¹ If you live it will be by setting a new standard—rendering a new service but in an old way—over and over and over²²

But the nature of the service, the reason for the new standard, the final purposes of the transcendent beings who control life—of these the patient learns nothing. It is possibly significant that there is much similarity between Dreiser's observation that events in life repeat themselves strangely and the doctrine here advanced—though so far as I know never reiterated by Dreiser—that lives are repeated for aeons, detail by detail.

In indicating in this play that human beings are tools, and in pointedly refusing to declare the purposes of these tools, Dreiser is presenting the gist of his explanation of life's mystery. These ideas appear in his works time and again. For example, he writes in *A Hoosier Holiday*, "In common with many other minor forces and forms of intelligence—insects and trees, for example—we are merely tools or implements—slaves, to be exact—and . . . collectively we are used as any other tool or implement would be used by us."²³ "Life," he writes in *Newspaper Days*, "as I had seen and felt from my earliest thinking period, used people, sometimes to their advantage, sometimes not."²⁴ In *Dawn* he says, "I think man really is an invention, a schemed-out machine, useful to a larger something which desires to function through him as a machine, be that air, fire, water, electricity, cosmic rays, or what you will."²⁵ And he does not know the purposes for which man is used. "Our God, if we have one," he writes, "is a vast somewhat too great for the perception of understanding or destruction or solution of any minor portion of Him, such as we are."²⁶ And he cries in *A Gallery of Women*, "About and above and beneath us, immensities as well as

¹⁹ *Plays of the Natural and Supernatural*, p. 100.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²² New York, 1931, 139.

²³ *Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub* (New York, 1920), p. 181.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁵ Pp. 343-344.

²⁶ P. 446.

mysteries, mysteries, mysteries. And nowhere on all the earth, not even so much as a sane guess as to what we are or what the sun is or the 'reason' for our being here."²⁷

It is true, of course, that in spite of his frequently asserted ignorance of the ultimate purpose of life and his certainty that not even a "sane guess" can be made, Dreiser nevertheless permits himself to make guesses. The purpose of life may be merely the entertainment of a possibly immanent god;²⁸ it may be that the oversoul is helpless to assist the individual;²⁹ the creator may be an inferior in the hierarchy of deities;³⁰ he may be insane.³¹ But such random conjectures as these, which in the whole context of Dreiser's work can be taken only as conjectures, are not pertinent to the theme of this paper. His actual conclusion, which he clearly felt that the evidence supported, is that men are tools used by unknown powers for unknown purposes.

III

Dreiser did not, as it were, think different ways with different parts of his mind. As a matter of fact, he is never to be trusted to reason well; this fact is as true of that alleged side of his mind which made him a naturalist as of that which is supposed to have made him a mystic. He leaps to conclusions, generalizes too easily, fails to observe narrowly enough. Thus, Mr. James T. Farrell remarks:

In *The Financier* and *The Titan* [his] . . . biologic determinism is usually explained by the word "chemisms." Paradoxically enough, Dreiser's appeal to "chemisms" is made quite frequently in specific contexts concerning motivations of characters, where we can now see that the real rationale of these motivations can be most satisfactorily explained by Freudianism. . . . In this respect Dreiser asserted a biologic determinism, which, in terms of our present state of knowledge about man, is crude.³²

This observation is not only true of the specific circumstances mentioned but is valuable in illustrating the kind of error Dreiser forever makes. It must be added, however, that Mr. Farrell's

²⁷ II, 656.

²⁸ *A Hoosier Holiday*, p. 368.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub*, pp. 117, 239-240.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 183 ff.

³² *The League of Frightened Philistines* (New York [1945]), pp. 13-14 n.

attempt to excuse him on the ground that knowledge of human motivation has increased since 1912-1914 is hardly to the point since Dreiser seems never to have ceased explaining life in terms of chemisms.³³ The fact is that he should have looked more closely at Edward Malia Butler, just as, in the opinion of most people, he should have looked more closely at his hunchbacks and at his lucky Jew.

Dreiser should never be called a mystic. A mystic is one who places his faith in nonrational means of apprehending reality, who seeks through contemplation truth which is denied to the scientist. But I am unable to discover Dreiser at any time placing his confidence in any method of discovering truth other than the scientific, rational one of observation, classification, and induction. His conclusions may be false, but he attempted to reach them by rational means. It may be that critics who have applied the word *mystic* to him have had in mind not only his bouts with what lies beyond natural law but also a certain moodiness in the face of life's tragedies which he frequently manifests. Obviously, however, one does not become a mystic by singing of the beauty and brevity and disillusionments of life, even when one sings sentimentally. One must also believe mind inferior to intuition as a means of discovering truth.

It is tempting to say that Dreiser should never be considered as having any ideological relationship to the contemporary mystics, such as the novelists Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, and Steinbeck—the latter, by the way, genuinely a man of "divided" mind. But perhaps in two ways such relationship is not wholly lacking. The first possible connection is a result of negative factors. Though a thoroughgoing naturalist, Dreiser was not wholly orthodox. He was not willing to take his eyes off the problem of man's position before the powers which created him. True, Dreiser never treated this matter as a mystic would; as this paper has attempted to show, his method of thought is always rational. But by not confining himself exclusively to the mundane, by not treating life in this world as an entirely closed system so far as man's knowledge is concerned, he has perhaps emphasized the deficiencies of naturalism

³³ Thus, for instance, he writes in *The Bulwark* (Garden City, 1946), p. 37: "But the chemically radiated charm of her, temperamentally and physically [whatever this means], was sufficient to keep him in a strained and nervous state, like one who suffers from a low fever."

and encouraged to some extent a mystical revolt. In the second place, his posthumous novel, *The Bulwark*, treats mysticism sympathetically. One must always keep in mind the difference between a writer's exhibiting an understanding of a certain point of view and his adopting it himself. There is nothing whatever in *The Bulwark* to indicate any change in Dreiser's opinions or in his ways of thinking, beyond a certain mellowness which is perhaps accounted for by the fact that he completed the book at an advanced age. Indeed, his old ideas appear constantly on its pages. But it is also true that his willingness to treat with sympathy the views of a John Woolman is evidence of a feeling on his part that these views are not wholly without value. Dreiser's position seems to me not unlike that of Mr. W. Somerset Maugham, who, though no one would accuse him of being a mystic, has also recently written a novel, *The Razor's Edge*, in which the mystic's position is sympathetically presented. These connections of Dreiser with the mystics are very tenuous, and perhaps they should hardly be considered. But they seem to me to be the only ones that exist.

NOTES AND QUERIES

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

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WHILE CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, the first professional writer in America, is often said to sketch the Indian only in the coarser elements of savage life,¹ a study of Brown's periodicals, translations and reviews of books concerning early American life, and his novel *Edgar Huntly*, indicate that the writer's attitude was one of sympathy toward the red man. Brown reflects in his writing the ideal of equality between the two races, a spirit of speculation and scientific investigation toward the language of the aborigines, and an enthusiastic interest in the encouragement of agriculture as a means of fitting the Indian to maintain his rightful place in a democratic society.

Brown indicates his favorable reaction toward equality between the races by the preface and notes which he adds as translator to Volney's book, *A View of the Soil and Climate of America*, in which he explains that although Volney has written one of the most comprehensive works on travel in America, he nevertheless views the Indians in their worst light, and that he has dwelt too strongly upon the savagery and misery of these people. Brown notes that "Volney is an enthusiast against the savages, and as zealous to depreciate, as Rousseau was to exalt."² He follows Volney's description of Indian barbarism with a note to the effect that retaliation is not limited to savages. Again, Brown offers an objection to Volney's interchangeable use of the terms *savage* and *Indian*.

¹ William Prescott gives us this idea. See *The Library of American Biography*, ed. Jared Sparks (New York, 1834), Vol. I. Prescott (p. 159) says Brown brings "into full relief the rude and uncouth lineaments of the Indian character, its cunning, cruelty, and unmitigated ferocity, with no intimations of a more generous nature." This opinion is echoed in Albert Keiser's *The Indian in American Literature* (Norman, Okla., 1945).

² C. F. Volney, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: J. Conrad & Co., 1804), p. 399 n. Volney, a Frenchman and friend of Brown, spent three years in America studying the manners of the aborigines of America. Brown translated the book and added the footnotes.

The word *savage*, he says, is applied only to people who are wicked and cruel, and should not be used as a proper name of a race.³

Although Brown's ideas of the Indian in *Edgar Huntly* may seem at first reading to play up the Indian's cruelty and barbarism, upon closer perusal one finds that the opposite interpretation may be necessary. It is often apparent that underneath this narration of Indian cruelty there exists a feeling that the Indian is more than a mere savage. Brown represents Edgar Huntly as remorseful for the Indian murders he commits. "Three beings, full of energy and heroism, endowed with minds strenuous and lofty, poured their lives before me," he is made to say. "I was the instrument of their destruction."⁴

Finally, Brown introduces us to the Indian woman, Old Deb, of the Lenni-Lenape or Delaware nation. While European encroachments have forced her countrymen to consider the abandonment of their native land and to anticipate a removal into the lands of the Wabash, Brown shows Deb exerting "all her powers of eloquence" to induce them to stay and protect the lands upon which the white men are so unlawfully intruding.⁵ Although she fails in this attempt, she declares her resolution to remain behind. Brown pictures her aiding her countrymen in certain depredations, but he implies that she was neither awed by the injuries she had received from her neighbors nor intimidated by the treatment she had endured.

The enthusiasm for the Indian language shared by such men as Jefferson, Barton, Heckewelder, and Brown is indicated by their spirited correspondence.⁶ Brown shows much of this curiosity in his review of Barton's book on the Indians. He seems to agree with the views of Jefferson and Barton regarding the place which a study of the Indian language will have in solving the problem of the origin of language. He indicates that he is waiting impatiently for further illustration of Barton's research concerning the comparative study of languages. In his magazine, the *American Review and Literary Journal*, he publishes a review of Jonathan

³ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁴ Philadelphia, 1887, p. 175.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁶ *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia for Promotion of Useful Knowledge* (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1819).

Edwards's pamphlet on the red man's linguistics.⁷ Edwards had made a comparative study of the languages of Asia and Europe.

Quite as striking an instance of Brown's fellow-feeling toward the language of the Indian is the attention he gives in *Edgar Huntly* to the discourse of Old Deb. "If a stranger overheard her jargon, incessant and shrill," the hero says, "he might speculate upon it in vain . . . but to me she became an object of curiosity."⁸

Brown first shows an interest in the red man's cultivation of the soil in his *American Register*,⁹ in which he published a detailed account of the proceedings of the Quakers in the development of Indian agriculture and civilization.¹⁰ Although Brown is not the author of this article, he shows his interest by a remark in the preface: "The intrinsic value of the narrative of the proceedings of the Friends in relation to the Indians will be evident to every judicious reader." He adds that this volume of his magazine is entitled to public regard since it contains records of these valuable enterprises with the red men. The article itself consists of an account of the program made by Quakers in agricultural pursuits in the Oneida and Tuscarora nations from 1795 until 1808. It explains that Cornplanter, an Indian chief, asked for continued help for his countrymen in their use of the plough, although some of the chiefs were inclined to take a negative attitude toward the study of agriculture.

Brown also expresses the same opinion in the material he adds as translator and editor of Volney's book. Here he states his belief that the problem of Indian agriculture is to prepare him to take his place in society, by keeping a few sheep or a cow or a cornfield. "This," Brown concludes, "is all that the welfare of the United States, and the red man's happiness and dignity require of him."¹¹ He believes that the Indian may also be persuaded to use his influence to induce his tribe to provide against the scarcity of game by substituting the more domestic arts for hunting. Finally, Brown

⁷ "Jonathan Edwards, 'Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanew Indians,'" *American Review and Literary Journal*, I, 343 (1801). Dr. Jonathan Edwards was pastor of a New Haven church about the year 1800.

⁸ P. 199.

⁹ Vol. IV, Part II.

¹⁰ "A brief account of the proceedings of the committee appointed in the year 1795 by the yearly committee of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., for promoting the improvement and gradual civilization of the Indian nations," IV, 291 (1808, Part II [1809]).

¹¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, p. 377 n.

shows his sympathy toward the encouragement of Indian agriculture by certain material in his novel *Edgar Huntly*. As he shows Deb with her implements of tillage, she is placed in a situation in which she will be "seldom liable to interruption or intrusion."¹²

Charles Brockden Brown was undoubtedly deeply interested in the "natural rights" of the American Indian. In his writings he represented the Indian as an individual worthy of the white man's recognition and study. He attempted to portray the red man honestly and faithfully, and did not gloss over the savagery and cruelty of the race. Nevertheless, he prepared the way for a better understanding and appreciation of the Indian by the white man.

WASHINGTON IRVING'S "CELEBRATED ENGLISH POET"

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IN THE SKETCH "Philip of Pokanoket" Irving says of the Indians of New England: "Worthy of an age of poetry, and fit subjects for local story and romantic fiction, they have scarcely left any authentic traces on the pages of history, but stalk like gigantic shadows in the dim twilight of tradition."¹ In a footnote Irving adds: "While correcting the proof sheets of this article, the author is informed that a celebrated English poet has nearly finished an heroic poem on the story of Philip of Pokanoket."

The question is: Who is this celebrated poet, and what poem was nearly finished in 1819-1820? No heroic poem about Philip ever appeared. Nevertheless, the clue to Irving's note may be found in the letters of Southey. On November 13, 1820, Southey wrote in a letter to his friend C. W. Wynn:

Murray has sent me the "Sketch Book," the author of which I met in his room. It is a very pleasing clever book. What the writer says concerning the Indians is more creditable to his humanity than to his judgement. . . . Philip of Pokanoket, with whom I shall make you better acquainted than Irving seems to be, had all the treachery of the true savage, as well as some of the savage's virtues. His Indian name was Massasoit (not Kawnacom); and the historical grounds of my poem are,

¹² P. 186.

¹ *The Sketch Book* (New York: Putnam, 1867), p. 358.

as Irving supposes, to be found in the main events of what is called Philip's war.²

Southey, then, was the poet, but no heroic poem about the New England Indians is to be found in the ten volumes of his poems which he collected and published in 1837. Nevertheless, he had been working on the poem referred to in the letter to Wynn since 1811.³ Still, he could not have been very far along in 1820, or he would have known that Massasoit and Philip were two different Indians. In 1824 he mentioned the poem in a letter to Caroline Bowles,⁴ and expressed the hope that he would soon finish it; but he was kept too busy with other matters, and he never worked on the poem after 1829. In 1845, however, two years after Southey's death, his cousin Herbert Hill published what Southey had finished—nine cantos of the projected twenty-one—and published the outline of the rest.⁵

One thing is immediately clear when one reads the poem and Hill's notes: Philip plays a very small part in the story. The hero is Oliver Newman, a fictitious son of Goffe the Regicide, and a Quaker. Southey is interested in how Oliver behaves under circumstances which are very trying for a person who believes in non-resistance. Oliver's principles finally break down in one instance, and he kills a renegade white man. Still, he remains a strong believer in peace, and because he has made friends with the Indians he is able to bring about a settlement between the Indians and the whites. Philip does not even appear in the nine cantos which Southey completed, and from the outline it is evident that he had no real part in the story as Southey planned it.

Since the people around Murray were well acquainted with Southey, one of them must have known of the projected poem and must have told Irving about it as a bit of literary gossip of interest to the author of "Philip of Pokanoket." Irving then felt justified in adding his rather gracious footnote, but it was nevertheless er-

² *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, ed. J. W. Warter (London: Longman, 1856), III, 218.

³ See a letter to Landor in *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. C. C. Southey (London: Longman, 1849), III, 293.

⁴ *The Correspondence of Robert Southey with Caroline Bowles*, ed. Edward Dowden (London and Dublin, 1881), p. 66.

⁵ *Oliver Newman: A Tale of New England* was published by Hill in one volume, along with other fragments (London: Longman, 1845). It also appears in Volume X of some of the posthumous editions of Southey's *Poetical Works, Collected by Himself*.

roneous. The poem had little to do with Philip; certainly it was not the sort of "heroic poem" Irving expected. Moreover it was far from being "nearly finished" in 1820, and indeed never was completed. If it had not been for Hill, we should be at a loss to know even the nature of the projected poem.

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J. B. H.

THE CUMULATIVE CHECK LIST

The cumulative check list entitled *Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals, 1920-1945*, edited by Lewis Leary with the co-operation of the American Literature Group, MLA, and the University of Pennsylvania Library, is now in press and is scheduled for publication in the spring. The book will be approximately three hundred pages in length, 6" x 9", bound in paper. Price upon publication will be \$3.75.

In order to assure the printing of a sufficient number of copies, advance orders are solicited, and the price previous to publication has been set at \$3.00 net. Please address all communications to the Duke University Press, College Station, Durham, N. C.

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III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

Cincinnati as a Publishing and Booktrade Center, 1796-1880. Walter H. Sutton (Ohio State University, 1946).

The Craft of Genius: A Study of Emerson's Poetic Development. Thomas G. Henney (Princeton, 1946).

Emerson's *Nature*: Its Relation to Coleridge's Transcendental Idealism. John Armistead Stuart (Northwestern, 1945).

James J. Walsh, American Revivalist of the Middle Ages. Sister Mary Marcella (St. John's University, 1944).

Paul Elmer More's Literary Criticism. William Zoller (California, 1946).

Philip Freneau, Jeffersonian Publicist. Philip M. Marsh (University of California at Los Angeles, 1946). Incorrectly reported in the March, 1946, list as a dissertation completed at Harvard.

Political Satire in the American Revolution, 1763-1783. Bruce Ingham Granger (Cornell, 1946).

Premuckraking: A Study of Attitudes Toward Politics as Revealed in American Fiction from 1870 through 1901. John Lydenberg (Harvard, 1946).

Sinclair Lewis as a Satirist. Leonard Feinberg (Illinois, 1946).

Social and Individual Values in the New York Stories of Edith Wharton. Rod W. Horton (New York University, 1945).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

Adaptation of French Plays on the New York and Philadelphia Stages, 1860-1890. Caspar H. Nannes (Pennsylvania).

Federalist and Democrat in American Literature. Edward F. Grier (Pennsylvania).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Prof. Nelson H. Adkins (New York University) has begun work on a book which will study and analyze the various biographical attitudes which have been expressed toward Edgar Allan Poe from Poe's own fictitious contribution to his biography to present-day psychological studies.

Prof. Frank Davidson (Indiana University) has completed an edition of Emerson's *Napoleon; or the Man of the World*, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes.

Prof. Charles Duffy (University of Akron) is editing the correspondence of Paul Hamilton Hayne and Julia C. R. Dorr.

Dr. Curtis W. Garrison (Hayes Memorial, Fremont, Ohio) is editing the fourth volume of *The United States, 1865-1900: A Survey of Current Literature* for publication late this year. After the publication of this volume, the Hayes Foundation is dropping this title from its list. Doctor Garrison is now Analyst with the Policy Analysis and Records Branch of the Civilian Production Administration.

Dr. Bruce Ingham Granger (Bascom Hall, Madison, Wisconsin) is editing the prose writings of John Trumbull and would welcome information about this portion of Trumbull's literary output.

Prof. Frederick J. Hoffman (Ohio State University) is writing an Intellectual History of the 1920's in the United States.

Prof. Leland Schubert (Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota) is working on a biography of Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck. He would be glad to know of Duyckinck material, especially letters other than those in the New York Public Library.

Prof. George R. Stewart (University of California) is writing A History of Given (Personal) Names in the United States.

W. S. Tryon (History, Simmons College) and William Charvat (Ohio State University) have completed the editing of The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields, 1832-1858, a project sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of America. Professor Tryon is writing a history of Ticknor and Fields, and Professor Charvat is writing a study of the economics of authorship in America in the nineteenth century.

Howard P. Vincent, General Editor, reports plans for publication by Packard and Company of a fourteen-volume edition of *The Collected Writings of Herman Melville* to be published late in 1946 and through 1947. The following scholars are editing one or more volumes: Charles R. Anderson, Walter Bezanson, Walter Blair, Elizabeth Foster, Luther Mansfield, Henry Murray, Egbert Oliver, Gordon Roper, Merton Sealts, Willard Thorp, and Howard P. Vincent.

The co-operative *Literary History of the United States*, in preparation since 1941 under the editorship of Robert E. Spiller, Willard Thorp, Thomas H. Johnson, Henry S. Canby, and others, is near-

ing completion. It will include two volumes of critical literary history and one volume of bibliographical essays on individual authors, literary types and movements, backgrounds in cultural history, and a "Guide to Resources." Publication is expected within a year.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CENTENNIAL EDITION OF THE WRITINGS OF SIDNEY LANIER. General Editor, Charles R. Anderson. 10 vols. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1945. \$30.00.

The publication of these handsome, well-edited volumes—planned for 1942, the one hundredth anniversary of Lanier's birth—was delayed by the exigencies of the war. Such an edition has long been needed, and its appearance is an important event in the history of American scholarship. Some fifteen years ago the present reviewer, on behalf of the Duke University Press, had some correspondence with Mr. Henry W. Lanier about the practicability of bringing out a collected edition of his father's writings. The time, however, was not ripe for such a project. Some years later, mainly through the efforts of Professors Garland Greever and Charles R. Anderson and Mrs. Walter D. Lamar, the Duke University Press undertook the task. When, however, Professor Anderson was called to Johns Hopkins University, so closely connected with Lanier's later life, it seemed fitting that the Hopkins Press should publish the work. Such an edition would have been impossible without the full co-operation of the poet's sons, Charles D. and Henry W. Lanier, and of Mrs. John Tilley, daughter of the poet's brother, Clifford Lanier. Their three collections, now in the Lanier Room at the Hopkins library, have attracted several smaller collections. Finally, an anonymous donor has contributed substantially toward the cost of publication with the result that the edition appears in an appropriate format at a very reasonable price.

The editorial board was faced with the difficult problem of just what to include and what to omit among new and old materials. The new include a few poems and poem outlines—none of primary importance—and more than fifteen hundred letters by Lanier and about eleven hundred addressed to him or written about him. The Centennial Edition includes over a thousand of the poet's letters and about fifty addressed to him or written about him. It was necessary to regroup some of Lanier's prose writings. The result is seen in the general plan. Volume I, edited by Professor Anderson, is naturally given to the poems. Four volumes, VII-X, are given to the letters. When Mr. Aubrey H. Starke, who had undertaken the preparation of these, joined the Army Air Forces, the completion of the task fell to the lot of the General Editor. The remaining volumes are: II, *The Science of English Verse* and *Essays on Music*, edited by Paull F. Baum; III, *Shakspeare and His Forerunners*,

edited by Kemp Malone; IV, *The English Novel and Essays on Literature*, edited by Clarence Gohdes and Kemp Malone; V, *Tiger-Lilies and Southern Prose*, edited by Garland Greever, assisted by Cecil Abernethy; and VI, *Florida and Miscellaneous Prose*, edited by Philip Graham.

The general reader may well object that the Centennial Edition includes far too much and may ask why several volumes should have been given to extension lectures and to hurriedly written essays which the hard-pressed poet undertook to keep the wolf from the door. Lanier himself published only four books: *Tiger-Lilies*, *Florida*, *The Science of English Verse*, and a slight volume of *Poems*. Much of the material in Volumes III-VI is of interest only to the special student. Would it not have been better to reprint less and to have included a new biography such as I hope Mr. Anderson or Mr. Starke will sometime give us? The board of editors decided to prepare the edition primarily for the scholar rather than the general reader. For the scholar it is a matter of great importance that now he has access to Lanier's out-of-print writings, competently edited, and no longer based on texts that were often garbled or incomplete.

The work of the editors is thoroughly competent. In fact, from the point of view of scholarship one would find it difficult to name an edition of the complete works of another important American writer that belongs in the same class. Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that all the various editors are Southerners or scholars in one way or another connected with Southern universities. The most difficult editorial assignments—the *Poems*, *The Science of English Verse*, and the *Letters*—fell to Messrs. Anderson, Baum, and Starke. The Introductions to the first two, necessarily long and detailed, seem to me exceptionally valuable. Typographical errors are few. I note some uncertainty as to the spelling of *Grosart*, and in one instance (II, xxxii) R. M. Alden's *English Verse* is inadvertently attributed to H. M. Alden, long the editor of *Harper's Magazine*.

The appearance of this edition following the poet's belated admission to New York University's Hall of Fame raises the question as to Lanier's place in our literature. To too many critics Lanier has seemed to lie somewhat outside the main stream of our literary tradition. Stuart P. Sherman once remarked of Ellen Glasgow that Northern critics had never known how to take her. The remark might be applied to some of the critics of Lanier and of Poe, whom Van Wyck Brooks finds difficult to place in our literary tradition. Lanier has won the approval not only of keen and sensitive critics but of thousands of intelligent readers in every section of the country. After Whitman he is the best and perhaps the most representative poet of his period. By settling in Baltimore and

coming into contact with such Northern writers as Bayard Taylor, he emancipated himself from the limitations that are so marked in some of his Southern contemporaries. Let me add, however, that Lanier's debt to certain writers in his own section—notably Poe and Hayne—seems to me more considerable than I had supposed before I examined this indispensable edition of his writings.

Duke University.

JAY B. HUBBELL.

AMERICA IS WEST. *An Anthology of Middlewestern Life and Literature.*

Edited by John T. Flanagan. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1945. xiv, 677 pp. \$3.75.

PROMISED LAND. *A Collection of Northwest Writing.* Edited by Stewart H. Holbrook. New York: Whittlesey House (McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc.). 1945. xx, 408 pp. \$3.50.

Taken together, these two anthologies present selections from the work of approximately one hundred and twenty writers who have dealt with the Middle West and the Pacific Northwest. Professor Flanagan's collection, much the larger (it runs to nearly four hundred thousand words), ranges in time from the seventeenth century to the immediate present. In sections entitled "The Great Valley," "Folklore and Legend," "The Indian," "Explorer and Traveler," "The Frontier," "The Woods," "The Farm," "The River," "The Small Town," "The City," "Middlewesterners," and "Interpretations," the editor has grouped prose and verse of a remarkable range and interest. The biographical notes have been prepared with more than ordinary care, and the format is crisp and sparkling.

Despite the striking differences of subject matter and tone in a collection that includes both Alice Cary and John Dos Passos, it reveals certain predominant qualities of mind and style that give meaning to Mr. Flanagan's unhyphenated adjective "Middlewestern." Whether one examines James Hall or Sinclair Lewis, Abraham Lincoln or Henry Wallace, one is usually aware of an absence of "artistry and charm," to use the editor's characterization of William Allen White, along with great "candor and strength": a rather flat, unimaginative atmosphere; a basically conservative temper combined with a strong devotion to the principle of equality; a hostility to subtleties and sophistication; and a pervasive optimism which can yield its special kind of poetry, even though it is based upon an almost complete lack of that "sympathy with the abyss" which in other lands and in other regions of this country has so often nourished art.

On the other hand, there is much vague, unformulated bitterness in

this collection—as in E. W. Howe, Hamlin Garland, Edgar Lee Masters, Ring Lardner. The editor reminds us that “the seeds of realism matured earlier in the Middle West than elsewhere in the country.” Why? A valid answer to this question would remove a central obscurity in American intellectual history. In gathering such a wide range of materials which would have to be considered in framing an answer to it, Professor Flanagan has placed students of American society in his debt.

Mr. Holbrook’s smaller volume is more casual, even haphazard in construction. There is no discernible arrangement of the materials, which are selected from thirty-eight writers, most of them living. The best-known figure included in the anthology is Vardis Fisher, although the short story reprinted here is hardly a specimen of his best writing. At the other end of Mr. Holbrook’s spectrum are a number of amateurish poems and stories of the sort elaborated by young bachelors of arts who took a course in composition in college; and a few pieces of straight feature-writing by newspaper men working at an entirely safe voltage.

Yet the book has much of the interest Mr. Holbrook claims for it. It enables the reader to form some image, however vague, of a region of which most people in this country are only dimly aware. And it reminds us of the vast numbers of contemporary Americans who are earnestly striving to order and set down their experiences in a hundred different human situations all over a continent that has after all lost little of the variety which the first explorers found in it. The Pacific Northwest seems by this showing to be at an earlier stage of cultural development than the Middle West (and how should it be otherwise?). Trying to extrapolate the signs of artistic development in the various Wests has been a constant—perhaps a too constant—preoccupation of the people who have written about these regions, from Jonathan Carver to Hamlin Garland, or in our own day Grant Wood. Most of the earlier predictions have failed of realization. But the reader of these two anthologies—especially the reader who will take the trouble to draw the lines of continuity that can be drawn from the state of letters in the Middle West to that in the Northwest—will find himself in agreement with Professor Flanagan’s remark that “these achievements, like the synopsis of the early chapters of a serial story, are pointed toward the future; the best lies ahead.” This is an intensely Western, an intensely American affirmation; it echoes Emerson and Whitman as well as the editor of the most recently established regional magazine. It reveals an apologetic state of mind, if at the same time a hopeful one. But there is basis for the hope. The work collected in these anthologies, even when

it is crude or unsure of its aim, nearly always has some element of strength or freshness of vision that suggests latent unrealized possibilities in Western society.

The University of Texas.

HENRY NASH SMITH.

THE HISTORY OF PHI BETA KAPPA. By Oscar McMurtrie Voorhees. New York: Crown Publishers. 1945. xi, 372 pp. \$4.00.

It is remarkable that until now no student has concerned himself with the history of Phi Beta Kappa. Founded in 1776 as a secret society devoted to friendship, morality, and literature, Phi Beta Kappa has had a long and honorable career in the promotion of higher learning in America. Yet, aside from a handful of chapter histories, no effort has been made to recount the achievements of this singular organization.

The task of interpreting Phi Beta Kappa to the world has fallen to Dr. Oscar M. Voorhees, a pillar of the society for more than fifty years. In 1890, while still a theological student, Dr. Voorhees began to probe the society's *Original Records*; between 1901 and 1931, as Secretary of the United Chapters, he explored Phi Beta Kappa's past more thoroughly; since 1931, as official historian, he has devoted himself to the preparation of the present volume.

The History of Phi Beta Kappa traces the internal development of the society from its founding at William and Mary in 1776 to the election of its most recent Secretary in 1944. As the preface explains, it is primarily a constitutional history, "the story on the one hand of an intellectual fellowship, with anniversary addresses and dinners, and on the other hand of practical problems of chapter business—laws and by-laws, methods of choosing members, procedures with regard to the establishment of new branches, and the relation of the Society to the sheltering institutions." The dreary monotony of foundings, initiations, anniversaries, and rituals is rarely broken as Dr. Voorhees traces more than a century and a half of Phi Beta Kappa history. That he has been faithful to his sources—official minutes and records of individual and United Chapters—there is no reason to doubt; that he has gone beyond them there is no reason to believe. Dr. Voorhees's contribution is a detailed account of the internal affairs of America's oldest academic honor society.

It is a matter of regret that Dr. Voorhees has not attempted to relate his story to the main course of our nation's political and social development. We are asked to believe that Phi Beta Kappa has been self-regarding, and not much concerned with political, economic, and social questions. However, we are informed that the first "withdrawal from membership" came in 1800 when Abraham Bishop vociferously sup-

ported Jefferson against Adams, and thus courted the displeasure of Alpha of Connecticut. We also learn that Phi Beta Kappa men were active in the counterrevolution which promoted a national government under the Constitution; on one occasion William Short declared that if Phi Beta Kappa men were in command in Congress "we need not be indebted to the British Army of Mercenaries for uniting the different States." A society that numbered among its members John Marshall, Joseph Story, Bushrod Washington, John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Elihu Root, and Charles Evans Hughes deserves to have its political and social affiliations thoroughly scrutinized. We may guess that Phi Beta Kappa has shared the values of the high and well born, and has stood in the Federalist-Whig-Republican tradition, but until further research has been done, we cannot be certain.

Even more distressing is Dr. Voorhees's failure to discuss Phi Beta Kappa in terms of its intellectual functions. Incredible though it may seem, the words *education* and *scholarship* appear nowhere in the index, and only rarely in the text. The writer of the preface may declare that "Dr. Voorhees has rightly attempted little generalization with regard to the role played by Phi Beta Kappa in the history of American education," but here we must record a noisy dissent. If a history of Phi Beta Kappa is to be justified at all, it must be justified in terms of the organization's accomplishments in those academic areas in which it has pretended to operate. How much or how little Phi Beta Kappa has contributed to American scholarship and education we have no way of knowing from Dr. Voorhees's account.

It is probable that the rolls of no other academic honor society can match those of Phi Beta Kappa. Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Noah Porter, Charles W. Eliot, Francis Wayland, Herbert Baxter Adams, Daniel Coit Gilman, and Robert A. Millikan represent only a few of the creative intellectuals Phi Beta Kappa can claim as its own. Working with such an array of talent, and using Clark S. Northup's *Representative Phi Beta Kappa Orations*, Dr. Voorhees might well have interpreted Phi Beta Kappa in terms of the growth of American thought and letters. In his treatment, however, thought and letters are subordinate to organizational detail, while intellectual leaders usually appear as "distinguished members" of particular chapters.

Dr. Voorhees has given us a careful and painstaking genealogy of Phi Beta Kappa. A scholarly social and intellectual history of Phi Beta Kappa remains to be written.

University of Wisconsin.

IRVIN G. WYLLIE.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND FRANCIS WALKER GILMER, 1814-1826. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Beale Davis. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1946. 163 pp. \$2.50.

Francis Walker Gilmer is a figure peculiarly appealing to Southern scholarship. He was Virginian in birth, education, and career, and ardently Virginian in his loyalties. He was the friend and correspondent of most of the great Virginians of his day and the intellectual foster child of Jefferson, who introduced him to Richard Rush, then American minister in London, as "the best-educated subject we have raised since the Revolution." He was a member of the Virginia bar, an orator, a lover of science and the classics, and a principal figure in the establishment of the University of Virginia. If to all this is added the fact that he was twice crossed in love and died in the midst of his promise at the age of thirty-six, it is not surprising that his memory has been tenderly cherished. He was the Marcellus, the Sir Philip Sidney, of early nineteenth-century Virginia.

The episode in his life which most of the letters in this volume illustrate—his mission to England and Scotland to obtain a faculty for Jefferson's university then rising at Charlottesville—was the climax of Gilmer's life and his most lasting accomplishment. The narrative of this mission has been several times told before, most fully by Mr. Davis himself in his definitive biography of Gilmer, published in 1939. In the collection now published, however, the documentation for this interesting chapter in American educational history is for the first time made available. Mr. Davis prints seventy-one letters, nearly fifty of them letters by Gilmer to Jefferson from manuscripts now in the Missouri Historical Society. Jefferson's answers are drawn principally from the Gilmer Papers in the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia. Few of the letters on either side have ever been published; only one appears in the collected editions of Jefferson's writings.

Gilmer's early letters deal with his literary, scientific, and legal interests. The breadth of these interests and the vigor of Gilmer's youthful mind prompted Jefferson to tell him that he would find himself "without rivals on the theatre of public life." There are discussions between the young man and his mentor of Indian society, natural rights, knotty passages in a tract by Du Pont de Nemours that Gilmer was translating, Bentham on usury, and a multitude of other topics. In the fall of 1823 there was a charming exchange of filial-parental sentiments of admiration and affection. Gilmer sent Jefferson as a gift a copy of a newly found work by Cicero, saying that "if the Ganges & the Indus be the patrimony of his fame, you may fairly claim the St. Lawrence and the Missouri for yours." Jefferson replied that he hoped only from

futurity that it would forget the vituperations directed at him during his political career, and added: "you have the good fortune to be embarked on a smoother sea. may your voyage be long, happy, and prosperous."

A few weeks later Jefferson committed to Gilmer the arduous and delicate task of recruiting a faculty of first-rate men for the University in the educational centers of England. Gilmer's frequent letters provide an engrossing account of his disappointments and successes, the views of the British at home on the United States, and, in conjunction with Jefferson's answers, the already marked divergences between the American and British systems of higher education. After a summer and fall abroad, where he had secured the services of five professors, Gilmer returned to New York "emaciated to a shadow" by a fever which he caught on shipboard and from the effects of which he never recovered. It was one of Jefferson's dearest hopes for the University that Gilmer himself would accept the chair of law. On regaining some strength, Gilmer did accept, but early in 1826 he died before he had given a lecture. The later letters in this book make a tragic chapter.

The editing of this useful and well-printed collection of letters leaves nothing to be asked for beyond an important omission. Five documents among the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress that fit essentially into the sequence have been overlooked. Four of these are draft letters to Gilmer just before and just after the mission, the first of them outlining the mission, tendering the chair of law to Gilmer, and requesting a conference with him. The fifth document is Jefferson's short but revealing memorandum on the conference, which took place at Monticello, April 26, 1824.

The Jefferson Papers,
Princeton, New Jersey.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT: *Selections from His Poetry and Prose.* Edited by Samuel Sillen. New York: International Publishers. 1946. 94 pp. \$1.00 cloth; 35 cents paper.

Mr. Samuel Sillen in his introduction protests angrily concerning Bryant: "That he should be remembered primarily as a somewhat innocuous nature poet is one of those innumerable scandals in our literary history that make us blush." A more accurate statement of the case might read thus: "That the Bryant known to all who keep abreast of literary scholarship is still unknown to indifferent teachers and an indifferent public is one of the unfortunate situations which develop when the population of a vast democracy grows more rapidly than do its educational facilities or its literary taste."

This pamphlet, with its 28-page introduction, 25 poems, and 11 prose

excerpts, nowhere throws the "new light" on Bryant which is promised by its publishers—everything here can be found elsewhere. But these selections are undoubtedly introducing Bryant the great liberal to one segment of the uninformed public; namely, the clientele of International Publishers, who presumably know the poet, as far as they know him at all, merely as the author of "Thanatopsis." For this service, all thanks to Mr. Sillen.

All thanks to him also for pointing up the fact that the recent conclusions of literary historians and critics have not yet found their way into all classrooms. Mr. Sillen is undoubtedly honest in believing that he is actually introducing a "new" Bryant, as was John Dos Passos in announcing the discovery of those "forgotten" liberals, Philip Freneau and Joel Barlow (in *The Ground We Stand On*). The situation is a clear challenge to teachers of American literature to keep themselves and their students informed of current developments in American literature.

And one last word of thanks to Mr. Sillen for not attempting to make Bryant a Communist.

University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

THE JOURNALS OF CHARLES KING NEWCOMB. Edited with a Biographical and Critical Introduction by Judith Kennedy Johnson. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University. 1946. vi, 299 pp. \$4.00.

The progress of scholarship in American literature is charted by the increasingly numerous biographies of its minor figures. Other Nestors besides myself, pioneer readers of Emerson's journals and letters, will recall the days when Bronson Alcott, Jones Very, and Orestes Brownson, not then the subjects of biographical studies, were mere names, dim companions of Emerson, Hawthorne, and Thoreau, themselves far less intimately known than today. There now emerges, in all his brilliance and eccentricity, Charles King Newcomb. Every reader of Emerson's journals recalls the name; he appears and reappears in memoir and letter. Who was he?

Well, we already know that Emerson admired him, but we have learned to discount the sage's extravagant tributes to the lesser transcendentalists. Perhaps Newcomb's manuscripts were "full of subtle genius"; perhaps his story "Edith" included "copious wonderful pages"; and perhaps his strange fantasy *Dolon* (whose style Margaret Fuller described as "succulent and involved") was, as Emerson declared, "more native gold than anything . . . since Sampson Reed's 'Oration on Genius.'" Perhaps. We must, however, remind ourselves of Hawthorne's ironic comments on Newcomb's "passing through a new moral phasis" and of

the mingled admiration, pity, and contempt in which he was held by Margaret Fuller. Anyway, here he is, in Miss Johnson's painstaking study, clearly revealed as sensitive, aspiring, and occasionally so absurd that he almost becomes a living satire on our homespun transcendentalism.

If we forget *Dolon*, published in the pages of *The Dial*, Newcomb wrote nothing of any importance save the twenty-seven volumes of Journals which by a series of happy chances Professor Randall Stewart has brought to their resting place in the Brown University Library. From these, adding a biographical and critical introduction, Miss Johnson has selected topically and mercifully, to the amount of about one fortieth of the suffocating total of three million words. For those readers who crave more, a journey to Providence is indicated. As a matter of fact, there may be such pilgrimages, for this vast record (from 1851 to 1871) will inevitably become a work of reference for the re-creation of these twenty years in any detailed literary history of New England.

Such a pious observation, however, is qualified by the excessively introspective quality of these journals, if Miss Johnson's samples are at all representative. Some of us would go farther than to Providence to avoid more of the contemplations of this self-centered milksop, however penetrative he may be in the world of moral values. I am, of course, suggesting that the importance of the present volume rests not upon its revelation of a new man of letters, which Newcomb was not, nor upon his literary criticism, which is seldom good, nor upon his philosophizing on vice, old age, remorse, science, sex, and everything else under the fair heaven. Its value depends rather on its memorable self-portrait of a very queer babe in the transcendental woods; in its gathering of the famous "lunatic fringe" of Concord in one person, poetic, pathological, and pontifical in three million words.

During the last five years of the composition of this huge Journal, this singular dreamer, "C. K. N.," was living alone in a Philadelphia boardinghouse. Here he became an expert on the theater (including the wicked *Black Crook*, with its female chorus), on baseball, and on his own diet, which at one time consisted of no meat and at another of four eggs for breakfast. Neither Providence nor Concord can be held solely responsible for his idiosyncrasies; perhaps he would have been a Dali had he lived in the ice age. Yet his association with Brook Farm and with the ideologies of Concord justifies us in studying him as an authentic New England transcendentalist of a century ago.

Graduated from Brown University in 1837, but not till many years later from the bondage to an exacting mother, Newcomb studied for the ministry, but abandoned it because he could not bring himself to be

"a sectarian." Acquainted with Margaret Fuller in 1838 and with Emerson in 1840, he became one of the earliest dwellers at Brook Farm and remained there, with only brief absences, from May, 1841, until December, 1845. Here he lived in a room hung with ferns, mosses, and rushes; on its walls were pictures of Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Jesus—and Fanny Elssler! Fond of skating, he outdid even Hawthorne in the art by being, it would seem, the only man who could skate and at the same time raise his hands in prayer toward the distant church spire.

Yet even these oddities confirm the impression, further underlined by his tireless reading in the classics, in philosophy, and in history, and by his passionate love of nature, that the shy, frustrated, unhappy experimenter in life was sincerely enamored of the transcendentalist conception of moral perfection. Throughout his vagaries, like his greater contemporaries, he seemed determined to look through the lovely apparition of nature and through life itself to Meaning, to God. "Fathomless skeptic," Emerson playfully calls him; and at Brook Farm he was both admired and loved. One would not be surprised to hear that, like the beautiful boy, Dolon, he saw in the pine tree over his head a figure in a crimson tunic. O dreamers in that far-off world of Concord!

Most remarkable of all, however, as a portrait of Man the Transcendentalist (without genius) are the somber hues of Newcomb's repressed physical life. Were compensating, depressive experiences such as his, though unrecorded in other, more famous journals, more universal than we realize? He was, for example, the author of a volume of erotic doggerel called "Songs of Love." Certainly Newcomb's prying observations on marriage and on sex, without parallel so far as I know in similar journals of the period and place, stir speculation and remind us of Emerson's saying about the snapping of strings wound up too tight. The mystic's reaction, the "underside of God's divinity," the darkness which may border these extreme visions, the frank revelation of such matters in this curious Journal make it important in our study of transcendentalism. We are grateful to Miss Johnson, both for her biography and for the wisdom in her selections; Newcomb's confessions (not meant, presumably, for us) reveal a sensitive mind's experience in the world of Emerson.

Yale University.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

LAFCADIO HEARN. By Vera McWilliams. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1946. x, 465 pp. \$3.00.

This book adds nothing new to what has already been written about Hearn. It has no new evaluation of his worth, no new interpretation of any facet of his complex character. Yet it is a most needed and necessary

addition to Hearniana, for until now there has not been one volume that contains a complete history of this eccentric and pathetic genius. There were competent accounts, to be sure, of certain periods of his life; his friends and relatives—even some of his enemies—have recorded what they remembered of him; every editorial he wrote or lecture he gave has been identified; most of his significant letters have been published; but all this material is scattered through many volumes. *The Blue Ghost* attempted a complete picture, but its author was swayed by a sentimental emotionalism that defeated her end, and overdulcified her hero. So it remained for Mrs. McWilliams to pick up every thread and weave them into a competent, well-balanced biography that is at once accurate and interesting. She has shown good judgment in her appraisal of the relative importance of the various incidents of his life, and she has organized her material in an intelligent manner. No one can read much of Lafcadio Hearn without being influenced by his luminous style and highly tinted vocabulary. This has happened to Mrs. McWilliams to her lasting advantage.

She has given the usually accepted explanation as to why Hearn resigned his post at the Imperial University of Tokyo. A stranger, she said, entered Hearn's classroom while he was teaching, and he (thinking the authorities had permitted this intrusion in order to annoy him) resigned. Some few years ago I met a young Japanese diplomat who told me that his professor, a former pupil of Lafcadio Hearn, had given him a very different explanation of the incident. He said that the Dean of the Imperial University was very much annoyed at an article that had appeared in a foreign-language newspaper; so he had written a long protest in his best English. Having certain doubts as to his grammar and spelling, he gave the article to Hearn and asked him to correct it carefully. With his usual crotchetyness, Hearn, who disliked the Dean intensely, kept the manuscript a few days and returned it without even reading a sentence. The Dean, seeing no changes, felt set up about his English, and straightway forwarded the article. One can imagine his mortification when the newspaper printed it, and offered a prize to anyone who could list the greatest number of errors. Such a loss of face was unforgivable; so the Dean forced Hearn to resign. Of course it is a relatively unimportant point, and either explanation is perfectly in keeping with the little man's character.

If I had to choose just one book about Hearn, I believe that I should take Mrs. McWilliams's.

New York City.

EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER.

AN OUTLINE-HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Bartholow V. Crawford, Alexander C. Kern, and Morris H. Needleman. New York: Barnes and Noble. [1945.] xv, 323 pp. \$1.25.

This *Outline-History* is the most inclusive and therefore the most useful of all compact bibliographies of American literature now available. A quick check of a few references suggests that the bibliographical citations are reliable, although not even the compilers themselves will hope for perfect accuracy in all of the many thousand entries. Happily the entries are brought down to 1945. "This has involved considerable effort and expense," writes the General Editor somewhat plaintively, "since additions have had to be made several times while the work was in page proof." But this effort and this expense were well spent, for they make the volume an invaluable tool for serious students.

The compilers of the *Outline-History* have chosen to present not only this vast and well-ordered collection of factual data, but to add a few suggestions for study and to render critical judgments on both major and minor authors. Even though Messrs. Crawford, Kern, and Needleman describe their verdicts as "time-tested rather than personal," it may be questioned whether those gentlemen always report the findings of time correctly. For example, if the four chief faults of Whitman are to be named, are they these four? "(1) Inability to 'explore and depict a human soul' (Masters, 305), *i.e.*, to create character. (2) Employment of a style not to be classified as either prose or verse. (3) Monotonous and planless listing of miscellaneous details. (4) A mistaken assumption that banishment of foolish taboos justifies substitution for the higher, more spiritual, and more deeply affectionate sex relationships of an exclusively physical tie."

The over-all organization of the outline and the space allocated to various periods and to individual authors indicate that the three compilers have a substantial respect for the past. "The Colonial Period" is given 21 pages of text and notes (historical background, biographies, comment on works, secondary bibliographies); "The Revolutionary Period," 25; "The Romantic Period," 111; "The Triumph of Realism," 119; "Yesterday and Today," 17. This final section, set entirely in small type, merely lists works and omits all background, biographies, comment, and secondary bibliographies.

Emerson is very properly given more space than any other author, twelve pages. Whitman follows, with over ten; but Hawthorne is given only six; Poe, only four and a half; and Melville, three and a half. Meanwhile those indestructible perennials, the second-rank New Englanders, still flourish. Lowell is given over eight pages; Longfellow, seven; Holmes, six; and Whittier, over four. And such Colonial and

Revolutionary masters as John Davenport, Thomas Brattle, Alexander Spotswood, Meriwether Lewis, William Smith, and Nathaniel Evans are dignified by mention in the text, while Eugene O'Neill, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis, Robinson, Frost, Sandburg, Millay, Jeffers, their contemporaries, and their successors are represented by title only.

This treatment of recent and contemporary literature will do little to discourage those instructors who bring their courses in American literature to an end soon after the Civil War. It is debatable whether a course which deals exhaustively with English literature in North America and concludes with an account of Henry James in England can be accurately described as a survey of American literature.

University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

MAJOR ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH POETRY: FROM WYATT TO AUDEN. By Josephine Miles. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1946. \$1.25.

There is a type of precise or semiscientific study of literature that may be called a philosophical synecdoche: the part is examined as indicative of the whole. One sees the world in miniatures, as on Hellenistic gems. The reader is reminded of his college classes in zoology, where bones were ascribed to certain species and fitted into their proper places. On reading Miss Miles's book one feels like an enterprising fly in a zoological garden who by flitting rapidly from one species to another gains a more catholic view of nature than some less agile specialist who hangs meditating in his cubicle, speculating on one specimen only. This nimble type of study becomes at once stimulating and a little fatiguing. Its ingenuity in the ends seems too artificial, its enterprise more farfetched than broadening.

Miss Miles gives us a book of a kind not as yet widely current; and it must be acknowledged that to date she has few if any equals in the art. Her work is careful, accurate, witty, thoughtful, and closely written. It is clear that she possesses critical sophistication and poetic sensibility. Availing herself of twenty-five concordances of major English and American poets, she determines by count the most commonly used adjectives. For secondary reference she also lists the words of most frequent occurrence. A third table representing thirty poets shows the number of adjectives used by each, in a thousand lines of text. Finally, a less valuable chart states the proportion of limiting, participial, and descriptive adjectives in twenty poets. These tables are quickly displayed. There follow a hundred pages of discussion and interpretation. The author notes a decline of abstract adjectives and rise of sensory ad-

jectives, a diminishing interest in ethical values with a rising interest in moods, and a tendency to shift back and forth from sparsity to profusion in the quantity and importance of adjectives. Miss Miles is a shrewd reader of her evidence.

In American poetry the expansive use of adjectives is described as first conspicuous in Whitman and as reaching its peak in Hart Crane. The most perceptive pages are those on Crane. Emerson and T. S. Eliot are described as more conservative. Robert Frost and Wallace Stevens are treated briefly and somewhat inconclusively. Poe's obvious mannerisms make the lists of his words pleasantly descriptive of his poetic mind as a whole. Eight of his nine most frequent adjectives are: *bright, sweet, deep, dim, fair, happy, wild, young*. His dozen favorite words are equally revealing: *love, heart, see, die, eye, dream, heaven, night, thought, know, soul*.

Miss Miles's method, with its rigor and novelty, is more significant than her conclusions. Her study is in some degree scientific, philosophical, and critical. Yet her grave excursion on the long, slender thread of the adjective becomes too much like walking a tight-rope. In the end the reader regretfully concludes that her work is less scientific, philosophical, or critical than acrobatic. Unhappily these tense acrobatics are unredeemed by the circus glamour of being spectacular.

Columbia University.

HENRY W. WELLS.

AMERICANS: *A Book of Lives*. By Hermann Hagedorn. With portraits by Rafael Palacios and others. New York: The John Day Co. [1946.] vii, 392 pp. \$5.00.

This volume comprises the life stories of seventeen twentieth-century Americans selected first by a nationwide poll of newspaper editorial writers and then by vote of the readers of *Asia and the Americas*. The project is sponsored by the East and West Association with a view toward reminding "Americans of greatness which has walked in their midst" and letting "the peoples of other countries know what the people of the United States are like." The personalities included are Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Thomas Edison, Luther Burbank, Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Jane Addams, John Dewey, Louis Brandeis, George Washington Carver, Henry Ford, Helen Keller, Will Rogers, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, and Wendell Willkie.

Under the demands of brevity, Mr. Hagedorn necessarily paints in broad, bold strokes with emphasis on the high lights of his subjects' lives. Nevertheless, he inserts enough shading and intimate human-interest

detail to produce a series of remarkably substantial, well-rounded portraits. Although he disavows any intention of attempting "appraisal or criticism," he writes from the definite viewpoint of the idealistic, democratic liberal; and his unconcealed admiration of the character and achievement of a Holmes, a Brandeis, a Jane Addams, a John Dewey, or a Wendell Willkie manifests itself in an eloquence and dramatic excitement in the telling of their life stories which is contagious and stimulating.

In fact there is enough critical evaluation in these sketches to make one disagree with some of his judgments and to support others. For instance, he underestimates the significance of Mark Twain's later pessimistic writings; he takes insufficient account of Theodore Roosevelt's jingoistic tendencies and of his too-frequent betrayal of principle for expediency; he lays greater stress on Edison's social-mindedness than seems justified by the facts. On the other hand, he is on the whole skillful and dispassionate in his interweaving of the weaknesses and virtues of his characters. Edison and Ford are not presented as great scientists, but as mechanical and organizational geniuses; the folly of Ford's anti-semitic, anti-labor union, and peace-ship ventures is fully recognized, as are the inadequacies of Hoover's efforts to meet the crises of his administration, and the tragic errors of Wilson's tactics in the League of Nations struggle.

One may regret the relative neglect (by the voters who selected these seventeen Americans) of the fields of the arts, letters, scholarship, and the humanities, but one cannot deny the major significance of each of these personalities in the contemporary American scene, or the powerful impact of their achievements upon the trends and currents of modern society. This book should very effectively serve its purpose of acquainting the general reader both in this country and elsewhere with certain essential elements of the American character in the twentieth century.

Brooklyn College.

HOWARD W. HINTZ.

BRIEF MENTION

PIETY AND INTELLECT AT AMHERST COLLEGE 1865-1912. By Thomas LeDuc. New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. ix, 165 pp. \$2.00.

A history of ideas in Amherst College, invaluable for the social historian and the specialist in higher education. Especially useful are Chapter V, on the "Ancient Classics," and Chapter VI, on "Science and the Evangelicals." Throughout the author connects the microcosm of Amherst with the broader areas of intellectual conflicts, so that the work is far more than a parochial treatise.

C. G.

REMEMBRANCE OF AMHERST: *An Undergraduate's Diary 1846-1848*. By William Gardiner Hammond. Edited by George F. Whicher. New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. viii, 307 pp. \$3.00.

Selections, intelligently made and competently edited, from an undergraduate's diary written during the forties. The work is especially interesting in that it contains a bountiful supply of references to books read by the students at Amherst during the period.

C. G.

HAWTHORNE'S SHORT STORIES. Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. xxii, 422 pp. \$3.00.

Twenty-nine of Hawthorne's short narratives or sketches are reproduced with a brief but interesting Introduction, calculated to appeal to the general reader.

C. G.

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN READER. Edited by Ray B. West, Jr. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1946. 436 pp. \$3.50.

A regional anthology containing selections by Vardis Fisher, Bernard DeVoto, Wallace Stegner, Lew Sarett, and others. An Introduction by Mr. West comments on the recent literary production associated with the Rocky Mountain area.

C. G.

SELECT STORIES OF BRET HARTE. New York: Caxton House, Inc. [1946.] ix, 306 pp.

A conventional selection, with an incompetent Introduction.

C. G.

THOREAU'S WALDEN: *A Photographic Register*. By Henry B. Kane. With an Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. x, 169 pp. \$4.00.

Photographs of flowers, animals, and scenery of the Walden area with a text from Thoreau for each.

C. G.

A SHELF OF LINCOLN BOOKS: *A Critical, Selective Bibliography of Lincolniana*. By Paul M. Angle. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1946. xv, 142 pp. \$3.00.

An excellent winnowing of an enormous bibliography, with discerning critical remarks on the volumes selected.

C. G.

THE PORTABLE MARK TWAIN. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. New York: The Viking Press. 1946. vii, 786 pp. \$2.00.

Contains a few letters in whole or in part previously unpublished.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (San Diego State College), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College).

Items for the check list to be published in the January, 1947, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the Chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

- [ADAMS, JOHN] Bowen, C. D. "John Adams and His Bowl." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVII, 120-124 (May, 1946).

A biographer tells of her experiences at an auction.

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Distler, T. A. "Franklin's Two Colleges." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, XLVIII, 117-124 (Winter, 1946).

The University of Pennsylvania and Franklin [and Marshall] College were founded in an era of patriotic idealism.

- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Marsh, Philip. "Madison's Defense of Freneau." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3 ser., III, 269-280 (April, 1946).

Reprints from the *American Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 20, 1792, a vindication of Freneau from the attacks of Hamilton, and presents evidence of Madison's authorship of the vindication.

- . "Philip Freneau, Our Sailor Poet." *Am. Neptune*, VI, 115-120 (April, 1946).

- [JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Martin, E. T. "Thomas Jefferson's Interest in Science and the Useful Arts." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, II, 65-73 (June, 1946).

Jefferson, although he emphasized the importance of the possession of land and the agrarian way of life, also recognized the importance of science in furthering the progress of mankind.

- [MADISON, JAMES] See FRENEAU above.

- [MAXWELL, WILLIAM] Byrd, C. K. "Some Notes on W. Maxwell and

the *Maxwell Code*." *Indiana Quar. for Bookmen*, II, 54-60 (April, 1946).

William Maxwell, printer and publisher of the *Maxwell Code* (1796), was "the first to bring the enlightening influences of the free press to the Old Northwest Territory."

[PROUD, ROBERT] Powell, J. H. "Robert Proud, Pennsylvania's First Historian." *Penn. Hist.*, XIII, 85-112 (April, 1946).

Historian and poetaster, Quaker pacifist and Loyalist, unsuccessful merchant and unhappy teacher, Proud wrote the first (and for many years the only) history of Pennsylvania, despite the fact that he was fundamentally out of sympathy with the society of which he wrote.

[TRUMBULL, JOHN] Byington, S. T. "Mr. Byington's Brief Case (IV)." *Am. Speech*, XXI, 37-44 (Feb., 1946).

A discussion of Trumbull's phrase "lecture-day" in *M'Fingal*.

[TUCKER, ST. GEORGE] ANON. "The Tucker Letters from Williamsburg." *Bermuda Hist. Quar.*, III, 24-28 (Jan.-Feb.-March, 1946).

Letters from Anne and Henry Tucker, parents of St. George Tucker, and from Elizabeth, his sister.

[WASHINGTON, GEORGE] McGroarty, W. B. "The Death of Washington." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LIV, 152-156 (April, 1946).

Notes on the death of the first president, and of the slow spreading of news of it throughout the country.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Holmer, N. G. "John Campanius' Lutheran Catechism in the Delaware Language." *Essays and Studies in Am. Lang. and Lit.* (Am. Inst., Univ. of Upsala), III, 1-34 (1946).

Marraro, H. R. "Rome and the Catholic Church in Eighteenth-Century American Magazines." *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 157-189 (July, 1946).

"Not only were unfriendly items almost the only ones printed on the Catholic Church, but there was always a conscious attempt to discredit the spiritual forces of Catholicism."

Masterson, J. R. "Travelers' Tales of Colonial Natural History." *Jour. Am. Folklore*, LIX, 51-67, 174-188 (Jan.-March, April-June, 1946).

Myers, R. M. "The Old Dominion Looks to London: A Study of English Literary Influences upon *The Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1766." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LIV, 195-217 (July, 1946).

A study of the *Virginia Gazette* reveals the English dominance of the colonial literary scene, Virginia's favorite writers, the eagerness with which Virginians read English literature, the state of the drama in Virginia, and the book-buying taste of her citizens.

Stetson, S. P. "American Garden Books, Transplanted and Native, before 1807." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3 ser., III, 343-369 (July, 1946).

Stewart, Randall. "Puritan Literature and the Flowering of New England." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3 ser., III, 319-342 (July, 1946).

"The writers of the flowering did not break with the Puritan tradition, or cast it aside, but continued it, with modifications."

II. 1800-1870

[BYRD, R. E.] Meade, E. K. "The Papers of Richard Evelyn Bird, I, of Frederick County, Virginia. A Note on a Valuable Collection of Family Letters and Other Documents with Extracts Therefrom." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LIV, 106-118 (April, 1946).

[CHANDLER, E. M.] Burklund, C. E. "An Early Michigan Poet: Elizabeth Margaret Chandler." *Mich. Hist.*, XXX, 277-288 (April, 1946).

A brief account of the life and works of an early antislavery poet (1807-1834).

[CHILD, L. M.] Mayo, L. S. "The History of the Legend of Chocorua." *NEQ*, XIX, 302-314 (Sept., 1946).

Lydia Maria Child's embroidery of the legend in *The Token* (1829) has persisted for more than a century.

[COOPER, J. F.] Byington, S. T. "Mr. Byington's Brief Case (IV)." *Am. Speech*, XXI, 37-44 (Feb., 1946).

More words from Cooper's works.

Clemens, S. L. "Fenimore Cooper's Further Literary Offenses." *NEQ*, XIX, 291-301 (Sept., 1946).

First printing of a continuation of Mark Twain's famous essay on Cooper: posing as "Professor of Belles Lettres in the Veterinary College of Arizona," Twain indicts Cooper for failing to employ a simple, straightforward style.

[DANA, R. H.] Allen, Walter. "Books in General." *New Statesman and Nation*, XXXI, 361 (May 18, 1946).

A reconsideration of *Two Years before the Mast*: "a documentary narration raised to the level of a prose idyll, perfect of its kind."

[DENNIE, JOSEPH] Leary, Lewis. "Leigh Hunt in Philadelphia: An American Literary Incident of 1803." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXX, 270-280 (July, 1946).

Dennie reprinted many of Hunt's poems in the *Port Folio*, but probably did not present his readers with an "original poem" from the young English writer whom Philadelphia in 1803 made some effort to claim as her own.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Baker, Carlos. "The Road to Concord. Another

Milestone in the Whitman-Emerson Friendship." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, IX, 100-117 (April, 1946).

Discovery and reproduction of the long-lost letter, of January 10, 1863, in which Emerson recommended Whitman to Salmon P. Chase for a position in the Treasury Department, together with notes on Emerson's opinions of *Leaves of Grass* and of Whitman's opinions of Emerson.

Foster, G. R. "The Natural History of the Will." *Am. Scholar*, XV, 277-287 (Summer, 1946).

Emerson's and Nietzsche's concepts of the will are compared and contrasted: Emerson conceives of the will as developing from instinct and reflects a Buddhist influence in his interpretation of the primacy of the will.

Jackson, S. L. "A Soviet View of Emerson." *NEQ*, XIX, 236-243 (June, 1946).

Behind the idealist veil, Emerson's ethics are sympathetic to economic exploitation: his transcendentalism is not a revitalizing, but a weakening philosophy.

McNulty, J. B. "Emerson's Friends and the Essay on Friendship." *NEQ*, XIX, 390-394 (Sept., 1946).

Emerson's friends prompted the essay: a letter to one of them is quoted in it; Journal observations about them are worked into it; his friends are directly addressed in it.

Mason, A. H. "Emerson's *Terminus*." *Expl.*, IV, 37 (March, 1946).

[HELPER, H. R.] Reuben-Sheeler, J. "Hinton Rowan Helper." *Negro Hist. Bul.*, IX, 137-141 (March, 1946).

The Impending Crisis—its author, its contents, and its influence.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON]. Anon. "Rare Manuscripts." *Life*, XX, 101-105 (April 15, 1946).

Photographed pages, with brief editorial comments, of some rare manuscripts in the Scribner collection.

Kirby, T. A. "Carlyle and Irving." *ELH*, XIII, 59-63 (March, 1946).

Kirk, Clara and Rudolph. "Letters of Washington Irving. Part Two—From Italy to Paris and London." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, IX, 36-58 (June, 1946).

Continued from issue of December, 1945.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Howe, M. A. DeW. "With Hawthorne at Tanglewood." *Chri. Sci. Mon.*, XXXVIII, 6 (July 15, 1946).

Langemann, J. K. "'Husband to the Month of May.'" *Chri. Sci. Mon.*, XXXVIII, 4-5 (July 13, 1946).

A retelling of the love story of Hawthorne and Sophia Peabody. Stewart, Randall. "Mrs. Hawthorne's Quarrel with James T. Fields." *More Books*, XXI, 254-263 (Sept., 1946).

Letters revealing Mrs. Hawthorne's loss of confidence in Fields with respect to payment of royalties.

Voigt, G. P. "Hawthorne and the Roman Catholic Church." *NEQ*, XIX, 394-397 (Sept., 1946).

Hawthorne's attitude toward Catholicism was that of one who appreciated certain of its features, such as the confessional, but who never approved or accepted the Catholic creed or code of ethics.

[Holmes, O. W.] A[rms], G. W. "Holmes' *The Chambered Nautilus*." *Expl.*, IV, 51 (May, 1946).

Roditi, Edouard. "Oliver Wendell Holmes as Novelist." *Accent*, I, 23-33 (Winter, 1945).

[Key, F. S.] Anon. "Francis Scott Key Home." *State and Local Hist. News*, III, 1 (July, 1946).

A drive is underway by the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., to raise \$100,000 for purchase and restoration of the Key home in Georgetown.

[Longfellow, H. W.] Arms, George. "The Revision of 'My Lost Youth.'" *MLN*, LXI, 389-392 (June, 1946).

An examination of the changed order and rewordings of the final printing.

McCourt, E. A. "The Canadian Historical Novel." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXVI, 30-36 (April, 1946).

The influence of Longfellow has been a "mellow blight" on the Canadian historical novel.

Smith, C. P. "Longfellow's Castle on the Oxbow." *Chri. Sci. Mon.*, XXXVIII, 8 (July 10, 1946).

[Longstreet, A. B.] Longstreet, A. B. "An Unreprinted Georgia Scene." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, II, 100-101 (June, 1946).

"Dropping to Sleep," not included in the collected *Georgia Scenes*, is here reprinted from the *State Rights' Sentinel*, February 26, 1835.

[Lowell, J. R.] Davis, R. B. "A Variant of Lowell's 'I Go to the Ridge in the Forest.'" *MLN*, LXI, 392-395 (June, 1946).

A comparison of a ten-line manuscript poem with printed versions.

Voss, A. W. M. "Lowell's 'A Legend of Brittany,'" *MLN*, LXI, 343-345 (May, 1946).

Probably influenced by the reviews by C. C. Felton (*North American Review*, April, 1844) and Poe (*Graham's Magazine*, March, 1844),

Lowell revised the first version of "A Legend of Brittany" and made the second version (1849) less didactic.

[POE, E. A.] Mason, Leo. "Poe-Script." *Dickensian*, XLII, 79-81 (Spring, 1946).

Notes for Dickensians on John Neal as the "American Dickens," on Lowell's "A Fable for Critics," on reviews of Dickens's works revealed by Poe, and on Poe's correspondence with Dickens.

Snell, George. "First of the New Critics." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, II, 333-340 (n.d.).

Trompeo, P. P. "Poe a Roma." *La Nuova Europa*, II (1945).

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Swisher, J. A. "Lincoln in Iowa." *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, XLIII, 69-84 (Jan., 1945).

Lincoln's personal associations in Iowa and with Iowans.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Hollis, Sophie. "Moby Dick: A Religious Interpretation." *Catholic World*, CLXIII, 158-162 (May, 1946).

Moby-Dick is a religious allegory of fate and free will, and it reveals the "tragedy of the man who is neither believer nor infidel."

McCloskey, J. C. "*Moby-Dick* and the Reviewers." *Phil. Quar.*, XXV, 20-31 (Jan., 1946).

Pirano, F. "'Moby Dick' di Herman Melville." *Convivium*, XV, 209-243 (1943).

[ROBINSON, M. R.] Nye, R. B. "Marius Robinson, a Forgotten Abolitionist Leader." *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quar.*, LV, 138-154 (April-June, 1946).

"Marius Racine Robinson . . . in the rise of abolitionism in Ohio . . . played a great part, as agent, editor, organizer, and propagandist."

[SIMMS, W. G.] Odell, A. T. "William Gilmore Simms in the Post-War Years." *Bul. Furman Univ.*, XXIX, 5-20 (May, 1946).

The effect of the Civil War on Simms as revealed in nine letters written in 1865-1867 to Evert A. Duyckinck.

Stoney, S. G. "The Memoirs of Frederick Adolphus Porcher." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLVII, 32-52, 83-108 (Jan., April, 1946).

Contains several references to Simms as editor of the *Magnolia*, for which Porcher did some translations from the French.

[TAYLOR, E. T.] Watters, R. E. "Boston's Salt-Water Preacher." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLV, 350-361 (July, 1946).

The life and works of Edward Thompson Taylor, who apparently served as a model for Melville's Father Mapple.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Bode, Carl. "Thoreau Finds a House." *SRL*, XXIX, 15 (July 20, 1946).

A hitherto unpublished letter from Thoreau to Daniel Ricketson, a New Bedford Quaker, about a Concord house.

———. "Thoreau's Last Letter." *NEQ*, XIX, 244 (June, 1946).

Dated April 2, 1862.

Ford, N. A. "Henry David Thoreau, Abolitionist." *NEQ*, XIX, 359-371 (Sept., 1946).

H. S. Canby's view that "Thoreau was never an Abolitionist" is indefensible in the light of Thoreau's acts and words.

Harding, Walter. "Thoreau: Pioneer of Civil Disobedience." *Fellowship*, XII, 118-119, 131 (July, 1946).

Thoreau's technique of civil disobedience is the armament of the modern pacifist, "offering him both a moral and an effective technique for resistance to tyranny."

Sterne, M. B. "Approaches to Biography." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLV, 362-371 (July, 1946).

Orthodox narration of fact, scholarly examination of details, and various types of psychological approaches have all been variously applied to Thoreau by his biographers.

[WEBSTER, NOAH] Laird, Charlton. "Etymology, Anglo-Saxon, and Noah Webster." *Am. Speech*, XXI, 3-15 (Feb., 1946).

Webster "made an honest effort to learn the language, and did learn to read prose with some facility, although he was far from mastering Anglo-Saxon."

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Byington, S. T. "Mr. Byington's Brief Case (IV)." *Am. Speech*, XXI, 37-41 (Feb., 1946).

A defense of Whittier's inexact rhymes.

Scott, Kenneth. "The Source of Whittier's 'The Dead Ship of Harpswell.'" *Am. Neptune*, VI, 223-227 (July, 1946).

A hitherto unpublished letter reveals that Whittier learned of "the dead ship of Harpswell" from Miss Marion Pearl, daughter of a Maine clergyman.

Wright, Luella. "Whittier on the Dignity of Man." *Friend*, Dec. 20, 1945, pp. 201-203.

A survey of Whittier's poetry and prose "reveals the poet's high estimate of the dignity of man and his fearless defense of the inalienable rights of men in the social order of America."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Barnett, G. P. "First American Review of Charles Lamb." *PMLA*, LXI, 597-600 (June, 1946).

A panegyric on *Essays of Elia*, in the *New York Mirror*, December 15, 1832, is the first American review of Lamb.

Schlesinger, A. M., Jr. "Jackson and Literature." *New Republic*, CXIV, 765-768 (May 27, 1946).

Many of the leading writers, artists, and intellectuals of the pre-Civil War period—Hawthorne, Bryant, Whitman, Cooper, Bancroft, Irving, Whittier, and others—publicly aligned themselves with the Jacksonian party.

Winkler, E. W. "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1846-1876." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLIX, 532-584 (April, 1946).

This 12th installment covers the years 1859-1860 and lists, among items of literary interest, short-lived periodicals like the *Scorpion* by "John Squibob," newspapers, and slavery tracts.

III. 1870-1900

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] Snell, George. "Poe Redivivus." *Arizona Quar.*, I, 49-57 (Sept., 1945).

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Anon. "Unpublished Letters to Dan Beard." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 22 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

———. "'Youths' Companion' Reveals Twain Tales and Advertisement of 'Huck Finn.'" *Twainian*, V, 1-3 (March-April, 1946).

Branch, E. M. "A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Clemens to June 8, 1867." *AL*, XVIII, 109-159 (May, 1946).

Clemens, Cyril. "Mark Twain's Ancestry." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 8, 24 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

Feinstein, George. "Mark Twain's Idea of Story Structure." *AL*, XVIII, 160-163 (May, 1946).

"Form for Clemens is ideally the externalization of an author's thinking"—purely an individual matter.

———. "Mark Twain's Regionalism in Fiction." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 7, 24 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

Flack, F. M. "About the Play 'Roughing It' as Produced by Augustin Daly." *Twainian*, V, 1-3 (July-Aug., 1946).

Gibson, C. H. "My Last Impression of Mark Twain." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 5-6 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

Granger, Eugenie. "Mark Twain versus Publicity." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 10 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

Guest, Boyd. "Twain's Concept of Woman's Sphere." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 1-4 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

Hall, D. E. "A Mark Twain Sales Tip." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 9 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

Shirley, Philip. "Those 'Poems' by Twain in 'The Wasp' of San Francisco." *Twainian*, V, 3-4 (July-Aug., 1946).

Willson, F. C. "Twain's Tale, 'The Facts Concerning the Recent Important Resignation.'" *Twainian*, V, 1-3 (May-June, 1946).

A reprint, with an introduction, from the *New York Tribune*, daily issue of February 13, 1868.

Wyman, M. A. "A Note on Mark Twain." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 438-442 (May, 1946).

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Baldi, S. "Appunti per uno studio sulle poesie della Dickinson." *Letteratura*, VI, 76-88 (1942).

[FREEMAN, M. W.] Levy, B. M. "Mutations in New England Local Color." *NEQ*, XIX, 338-358 (Sept., 1946).

Mary Wilkins Freeman, in contrast to Mrs. Stowe and Miss Jewett, held that isolation was as much the result of the Yankee character as the cause of the latter's distinctive quality; she shared Rose Terry Cooke's conviction that New Englanders were responsible for themselves and their individuality.

[GILLETTE, WILLIAM] Frenz, Horst, and Campbell, L. W. "William Gillette on the London Stage." *Queen's Quar.*, LII, 443-457 (Winter, 1945-1946).

Gillette's personal success with the English theater public is exhibited in London criticisms of the plays in which he appeared.

[HARRIS, J. C.] Stafford, John. "Patterns of Meaning in *Nights with Uncle Remus*." *AL*, XVIII, 89-108 (May, 1946).

"*Nights with Uncle Remus* . . . can be studied as an example of a strategy for naming a situation in the South. . . . it falls into the pastoral tradition, which has often been used as a device for flattery, for consolation, for preserving the *status quo*, for implying a beautiful relationship between rich and poor, and for reconciliation."

[HEARN, LAFCADIO] Anon. "Rare Manuscripts." *Life*, XX, 101-105 (April 15, 1946).

Photographed pages, with brief editorial comments, of some manuscripts from the Scribner collection.

Snell, George. "Poe Redivivus." *Arizona Quar.*, I, 49-57 (Spring, 1945).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Marston, F. C., Jr. "An Early Howells Letter." *AL*, XVIII, 163-165 (May, 1946).

The letter from Howells to his brother Joseph, dated Cincinnati, April 10, 1857, here first printed, is probably the earliest Howells document that has been preserved.

Snell, George. "Howells Grasshopper." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 444-451 (May, 1946).

[JAMES, HENRY] Boit, Louise. "Henry James as Landlord." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 118-121 (Aug., 1946).

Mrs. Boit, who during 1904-1905 rented the Lamb House in Rye, Sussex, from Henry James, uses five of James's letters and her own recollections to tell of the novelist in the role of landlord.

Jones-Evans, Mervyn. "Henry James's Year in France." *Horizon*, XIV, 52-60 (July, 1946).

In 1872 James made friends, read widely, and learned the "essentially French faculty" of analysis "which enabled him to lead the novel into a channel hitherto completely unknown" and to produce prefaces "unique in Anglo-Saxon literature."

Short, R. W. "The Sentence Structure of Henry James." *AL*, XVII, 71-88 (May, 1946).

James's "distortions" of normal sentence structure were generally designed to "evade or obliterate the normal elements of connection and cohesion"; a small number of highly wrought sentences in traditional patterns are also characteristic.

Young, V. A. "The Question of James." *Arizona Quar.*, I, 57-62 (Winter, 1945).

[LONDON, JACK] McDevitt, William. "Jack London's Father's Autobiography." *Hobbies*, L, 121, 128-129 (Feb., 1946).

A brief biographical sketch from scattered autobiographical writings of Jack London's father.

[MITCHELL, D. G.] W., D. G. "Donald Grant Mitchell." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, XX, 66-67 (April, 1946).

A description of acquisitions by the Yale University Library of manuscripts and letters of "Ik Marvel."

[SCHOOLCRAFT, H. R.] Hallowell, A. I. "Concordance of Ojibwa Narratives in the Published Works of Henry R. Schoolcraft." *Am. Speech*, LIX, 136-153 (April-June, 1946).

[SHILLABER, B. P.] Clemens, Cyril. "Shillaber and the Carpet Bag." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VII, 11-21 (Winter-Spring, 1945-1946).

[TURNER, F. J.] Stephenson, W. H. "The Influence of Woodrow Wilson on Frederick Jackson Turner." *Agric. Hist.*, XIX, 249-253 (Oct., 1945).

[WHITMAN, WALT] Baker, Carlos. See EMERSON above.

Cooke, A. L. "Whitman's Musical Background." *NEQ*, XIX, 224-235 (June, 1946).

Influence on Whitman's verse of the Handel and Haydn festivals of 1868, the music at the Boston Peace Jubilee in 1869, and the increased importance of the organ in American cultural life.

Cowley, Malcolm. "Walt Whitman: The Miracle." *New Republic*, CXIV, 385-388 (March 18, 1946).

"In his thirty-seventh year, the local politician and printer and failed editor suddenly became a world poet," and so complex was Whitman's character that "there were at least three Whitmans existing as separate persons."

———. "Walt Whitman: The Secret." *New Republic*, CXLIV, 481-484 (April 8, 1946).

Critics have been too prone to concealments and apologies for Whitman's homosexuality: "our notions about the meaning of his poetry and his prose and his philosophy will have to be revised in the light of the discoveries about him that have been made during the last twenty years."

Glicksberg, C. I. "Walt Whitman and 'January Searle.'" *Am. N&Q*, VI, 51-53 (July, 1946).

Whitman's friendship with George Searle Phillips, editor of the *New York Illustrated News*.

Mary Eleanor, Sister. "Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* as a Source of Whitman's Knowledge of German Philosophy." *MLN*, LXI, 381-388 (June, 1946).

A comparison of F. H. Hedge's section on Hegel in his *Prose Writers of Germany* (1847) with Whitman's notes on Hegel shows too close a parallel to be accidental; it suggests that Whitman probably gleaned Hegelian ideas for *Leaves of Grass* from Hedge.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Dittus, C. W. "Pioneering with a Press." *SRL*, XXIX, 13 (June 8, 1946).

Sketch of the Johns Hopkins Press, founded in 1890.

IV. 1900-1946

[BISHOP, J. P.] Anon. "John Peale Bishop '17: 1892-1944." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, VII, 55-56 (Feb., 1946).

Patrick, J. M., and Stallman, R. W. "John Peale Bishop: A Checklist." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, VII, 62-79 (Feb., 1946).

[CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Rosati, S. "Erskine Caldwell." *La Nuova Europa*, II, 42 (1945).

[CRANE, HART] Walcutt, C. C. "Crane's *Voyages*." *Expl.*, IV, 53 (May, 1946).

[DREISER, THEODORE] Burgum, E. B. "The America of Theodore Dreiser." *Book Find News*, II, 10-11, 21 (March, 1946).

Elias, Robert. "Theodore Dreiser: or, The World Well Lost." *Book Find News*, II, 12-13, 22 (March, 1946).

In *The Bulwark* Dreiser found that the "human will was not entirely meaningless: it was meaningless as a thing *apart* from nature; but it was meaningful as a *part of nature*."

Dreiser, Edward. "My Brother, Theodore." *Book Find News*, II, 14-15 (March, 1946).

Gregory, Horace. "In the Large Stream of American Tradition." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books*, XXII, 1-2 (March 24, 1946).

Hicks, Granville. "Theodore Dreiser." *Am. Merc.*, LXII, 751-756 (June, 1946).

Jackson, Charles. "Theodore Dreiser and Style." *Book Find News*, II, 16-17 (March, 1946).

"It is time we read him for what he has to *say*, and not avoid him because he doesn't *say it* with felicity."

Lawson, J. L. "Tribute to Theodore Dreiser." *Book Find News*, II, 19 (March, 1946).

Excerpts from a tribute delivered at Dreiser's funeral service.

Schneider, Isidor. "Dreiser . . . A Man of Integrity." *Book Find News*, II, 18, 22 (March, 1946).

Tjader, Marguerite. "Dreiser's Last Year . . . 'The Bulwark' in the Making." *Book Find News*, II, 6-7, 20 (March, 1946).

Reminiscence by the novelist's secretary.

Trilling, Lionel. "Dreiser and the Liberal Mind." *Nation*, CLXII, 466, 468-472 (April 20, 1946).

"It is the fear of mind, much more than any explicit political meaning that can be drawn from the works of . . . [Dreiser and James], that accounts for the unequal justice they have received from our progressive critics."

[DUNNE, F. P.] Kelleher, J. V. "Mr. Dooley and the Same Old World." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVII, 119-125 (June, 1946).

Given practice in reading dialect and an ear for the brogue, a present-day reader will find Mr. Dooley's essays as good as ever.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Coomaraswamy, A. K. "Primordial Images." *PMLA*, LXI, 601-602 (June, 1946).

Comment on G. W. Foster's "Archetypal Imagery of T. S. Eliot," *PMLA*, LX, 567-585 (June, 1945), with respect to references to Jung and to the distinction between *le symbolisme qui sait* and *le symbolisme qui cherche*.

Smith, Grover. "Observations on Eliot's 'Death by Water.'" *Accent*, VI, 257-263 (Summer, 1946).

"It would be a mistake to suppose that 'Death by Water' was a passage of triumphant life: it is a passage of spiritual death."

Williams, W. C. "The Fatal Blunder." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, II, 125-126 (n.d.).

[FARRELL, J. T.] Willingham, Calder. "A Note on James T. Farrell." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, II, 120-124 (n.d.).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Campbell, H. M. "Faulkner's *Sanctuary*." *Expl.*, IV, 61 (June, 1946).

Caraceni, A. "William Faulkner." *Aretusa*, II, 23-28 (1945).

Pilkington, J. P. [Faulkner's *Sanctuary*]. *Expl.*, IV, 61 (June, 1946).

[FITZGERALD, F. S.] Embler, Weller. "F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Future." *Chimera*, IV, 48-55 (Autumn, 1945).

[FROST, ROBERT] Waggoner, H. H. "Frost's *A Masque of Reason*." *Expl.*, IV, 32 (March, 1946).

[GHISELIN, BREWSTER] Swallow, Alan. "Brewster Ghiselin." *Intermountain Rev.*, II, 4, 8 (Winter, 1938).

A brief biographical study of a Rocky Mountain poet.

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Swallow, Alan. "The Poetry of Robinson Jeffers." *Intermountain Rev.*, II, 8-9 (Fall, 1937).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Cecchi, E. "Ernest Hemingway." *Mercurio*, II, 111-123 (1945).

[LA FARGE, OLIVER] Allen, Charles. "The Fiction of Oliver La Farge." *Arizona Quar.*, I, 74-81 (Winter, 1946).

[LINDSAY, VACHEL] Warren, Austin. "The Case of Vachel Lindsay." *Accent*, VI, 230-239 (Summer, 1946).

Lindsay failed to succeed as a poet because he was torn between opposing forces he could neither name nor comprehend, much less resolve; he lacked the requisite intellectual vigor or subtlety to create the "mythic poetry which shall unite workmen and intellectuals by discovering in the shared, traditional tale its hidden, but not planted, import."

[MENCKEN, H. L.] Butterfield, Roger. "Mr. Mencken Sounds Off." *Life*, XXI, 4-46, 48, 51-52 (Aug. 5, 1946).

"At 66, the great debunker from Baltimore finds that the world is still full of fun and boobs."

[PETERKIN, JULIA] Yates, Irene. "Conjures and Cures in the Novels of Julia Peterkin." *So. Folklore Quar.*, X, 137-149 (June, 1946).

Mrs. Peterkin's use of a mass of folklore, interesting in itself, enriches her characterization of the Negro and forwards the development of her plots.

[POUND, EZRA] Berti, L. "Poesia e minetismo con Ezra Pound." *Letteratura*, IV, 140-145 (1940); V, 123-134 (1941).

- [ROBINSON, E. A.] Winters, Yvor. "Religious and Social Ideas in the Didactic Work of E. A. Robinson." *Accent*, I, 70-85 (Spring, 1945).
[SANDBURG, CARL] Crowder, Richard. "Sandburg's *Caboose Thoughts*." *Expl.*, IV, 52 (May, 1946).

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Cecchi, E. "L'autobiografiadi G. Santayana." *Il Mondo*, I, 12 (1945).

Hoffman, Paul. "Santayanas 'The Last Puritan' und seine Kulturkritik des Amerikanismus." *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, XXX, 21-39 (Jan.-March, 1942).

[SMITH, LILLIAN] DeVoto, Bernard. "The Decision in the *Strange Fruit* Case: The Obscenity Statute in Massachusetts." *NEQ*, XIX, 147-183 (June, 1946).

The decision kept the Commonwealth out of line with the legal thinking of all other state and Federal jurisdictions, and greatly facilitated the attack on literature in Massachusetts.

[SMITH, L. P.] Connolly, Cyril. "Logan Pearsall Smith." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVII, 129-132 (June, 1946).

Smith was a word-addict who personified an indispensable quality in civilization.

[STEFFENS, LINCOLN] Madison, C. A. "Muckraker's Progress." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXII, 405-420 (Summer, 1946).

Steffens's letters, as well as his more formal writings, reveal the development of his thesis that special privilege breeds corruption.

[STEIN, GERTRUDE] Smith, Harrison. "O Rose for Remembrance." *SRL*, XXXII, 11 (Aug. 10, 1946).

Miss Stein "forced writers to think about words, the value and weight of them and the sound of them."

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Burgum, E. B. "The Sensibility of John Steinbeck." *Sci. & Soc.*, X, 132-147 (Spring, 1946).

Gierasch, Walter. "Steinbeck's *The Red Pony*, II, 'The Great Mountains.'" *Expl.*, IV, 39 (March, 1946).

Rosati, S. "Letteratura inglese: L'ultimo Steinbeck." *La Nuova Europa*, II, 31 (1945).

[STEVENS, WALLACE] Simmons, Hi. "Wallace Stevens and Mallarmé." *Mod. Phil.*, XLIII, 235-259 (May, 1946).

Beginning in 1915, Stevens read Mallarmé sufficiently to feel his enchantment: Mallarmé influenced Stevens's work for a time, from 1915 to 1923.

[STURGIS, H. O.] Jamieson, John. "An Edwardian Satirist." *Chimera*, IV, 49-54 (Winter, 1946).

Howard Overing Sturgis (d. 1920), American expatriate in England and member of the James circle, deserves higher recognition for his novel *Belchamber*.

[TARKINGTON, BOOTH] Brownell, G. H. "Booth Tarkington." *Twainian*, V, 5 (May-June, 1946).

A telegram to George Ade about the formation of the Mark Twain Association of America, and a reminder concerning Tarkington's introduction to W. A. Rogers's *A World Worth While*.

[WHITE, E. B.] Beck, Warren. "E. B. White." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXV, 175-181 (April, 1946); *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 367-373 (April, 1946).

[WHITE, W. A.] Maurois, André. "A Man from Kansas: The Story of William Allen White." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XII, 188-191 (Spring, 1946).

Although ostensibly a review of Hinshaw's *Man from Kansas*, the article, translated by Anges Lee Haskell, is also a personal and critical estimate of White.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Armstrong, A. W. "As I Saw Thomas Wolfe." *Arizona Quar.*, II, 5-14 (Spring, 1946).

Burgum, E. B. "Thomas Wolfe's Discovery of America." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXII, 421-437 (Summer, 1946).

Wolfe was aware of the tragic choice facing America and of his inability as an individual to promote the right course, but he drew comfort from the literary tradition of reconciliation with despair.

Carpenter, F. I. "Thomas Wolfe: The Autobiography of an Idea." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XII, 179-188 (Summer, 1946).

"The idea which controlled Wolfe's life and writing was the American dream of freedom and democracy."

Geismar, Maxwell. "Thomas Wolfe: The Hillman and the Furies." *Yale Rev.*, XXXV, 649-666 (Summer, 1946).

Wolfe belongs among those artists from Melville to Dreiser who were "expansive by nature and constrained by necessity."

Powell, Desmond. "Of Thomas Wolfe." *Accent*, I, 28-36 (Spring, 1945).

Shoenberger, Franz. "Wolfe's Genius Seen Afresh." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Aug. 4, 1946, pp. 1, 25.

"A European recounts his discovery of an eloquent voice of the New World": even among the most famous representatives of serious contemporary literature, Wolfe is the only one endowed with the prophetic Ethos and poetic Pathos of true genius.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "American Culture Abroad." *Comp. Lit. News Letter*, IV, 41-45 (March, 1946).

Activities of American agencies and institutions since 1931.

Barzun, Jacques. "Our Non-Fiction Novelists." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 129-132 (July, 1946).

The writer prefers the older novelists or such established moderns as Joyce, Dos Passos, and Lewis to recent writers where "'new' novels are . . . feeble apings of the old pedagogic gestures."

Farrell, J. T. "Social Themes in American Realism." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXV, 309-314 (June, 1946).

Jefferson, M. M. "The Negro on Broadway, 1945-1946." *Phylon*, VII, 185-196 (Second Quar., 1946).

Kent, Michael. "Realism and Reality: A Plea for Truth in Fiction." *Catholic World*, CLXIII, 225-229 (June, 1946).

Contemporary American writers, such as Faulkner, Caldwell, Hemingway, Steinbeck, and Farrell, picture a society "made up of a population divided between the victims of brutality and the perpetrators of it."

Linton, C. D. "The Tragic Comic." *Madison Quar.*, VI, 1-6 (Jan., 1946).

"Let us give the younger generation a chance to break the stultifying thrall of the comic book and discover the deep, life-giving, enriching experience of familiarity with the world's great literature."

Long, J. C. "Biography Now and Tomorrow." *SRL*, XXIX, 16-17 (May 18, 1946).

Louchheim, K. S. "Ilya Ehrenburg on American Writers." *New Republic*, CXIV, 931-932 (July 1, 1946).

The Soviet author is quoted on Hemingway, Caldwell, Faulkner, and Steinbeck: the four greatest American writers, because they write so well about the common man.

Mencken, H. L., and others. "'American Speech,' 1925-1945." *Am. Speech*, XX, 241-246 (Dec., 1945).

H. L. Mencken, Louise Pound, Kemp Malone, and Arthur G. Kennedy discuss the founding of the journal.

Morse, G. C. "Broadway Re-Discovers the Negro." *Negro Hist. Bul.*, IX, 173-176, 189-191 (May, 1946).

Poore, Charles. "1946: The Fiction Writer's World." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, June 30, 1946, pp. 1, 22.

There has been a great deal of traffic down the well-traveled roads of fiction, but little striking out toward new horizons.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. "American Novelists in French Eyes." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 114-118 (Aug., 1946).

The French novelist and critic, translated by Evelyn de Solis, states that the greatest literary development in France between 1929 and 1939 "was the discovery of Faulkner, Dos Passos, Hemingway, Caldwell, Steinbeck. . . . to writers of my generation, the publication of *The 42nd Parallel*, *Light in August*, *A Farewell to Arms*, evoked a revolution similar to the one produced fifteen years earlier in Europe by the *Ulysses* of James Joyce": Albert Camus, Jean Janson, Desforêts, Magnane, and Simone de Beauvoir are among French writers who have felt the influence of American technique.

Towne, C. H. "The One-Man Magazines." *Am. Merc.*, LXIII, 104-108 (July, 1946).

Recollections of such one-man magazines as Gelett Burgess's the *Lark* and H. S. Stone's the *Chap Book*.

Wagenknecht, Edward. "The Little Prince Rides the White Deer: Fantasy and Symbolism in Recent Literature." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXV, 229-235 (May, 1946).

Walcutt, C. C. "The Regional Novel." *Arizona Quar.*, I, 17-26 (Summer, 1945).

Weaver, W. "Poesia americana di guerra." *Aretusa*, I, 124-126 (1944).

V. GENERAL

Baring-Gould, W. S. "Little Superman, What Now?" *Harper's*, CXCIII, 283-288 (Sept., 1946).

"Science fiction" must contain an element of stability which will attract readers long after the gadgets in the story have become realities.

Bennett, M. W. "Negro Poets." *Negro Hist. Bul.*, IX, 171-172, 191 (May, 1946).

From Jupiter Hammon and Phillis Wheatley through Langston Hughes.

Boggs, R. S. "Folklore Bibliography for 1945." *So. Folklore Quar.*, X, 17-108 (March, 1946).

Brace, Marjorie. "Thematic Problems of the American Novelist." *Accent*, VI, 44-53 (Spring, 1946).

Davis, M. G. "Writing About America." *SRL*, XXIX, 30-31 (Aug. 10, 1946).

Children's books about America are in demand all over the world.

Dobbie, E. V. K. "Bibliography [Linguistics]: General and Historical Studies." *Am. Speech*, XX, 296-298 (Dec., 1945); XXI, 134-135 (April, 1946).

- Farrell, J. T. "Notes for a New Literary Controversy." *New Republic*, CXIV, 616-618, 702-705 (April 29, May 13, 1946).
- Fischer, Von Walther. "Angloamerikanische Kultur—und Literaturbeziehungen in neuerer Zeit." *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CLXXXIV, 11-31 (Sept., 1943).
- Glicksberg, C. I. "Negro Poets and the American Tradition." *Antioch Rev.*, VI, 243-253 (June, 1946).
- Gurko, Leo. "American Literature: The Forces Behind Its Growing Up." *Coll. Eng.*, VII, 319-322 (March, 1946).
- Hacker, L. M., and others. "Unfinished Business for the Masses." *SRL*, XXIX, 8-11 (June 8, 1946).
- L. M. Hacker, P. B. Sears, Duane Roller, Mark Van Doren, and Willard Thorp in five notes on university presses.
- Hemens. R. D. "Magazines That Come Off the Presses." *SRL*, XXIX, 11 (June 8, 1946).
- Brief summation of magazines issued by American university presses.
- Jillson, W. R. "A Bibliography of Lexington, Kentucky . . . With Annotations." *Ky. State Hist. Soc. Reg.*, XLIV, 151-186 (July, 1946).
- Jones, Joseph. "Bibliography: Present Day English." *Am. Speech*, XX, 293-296 (Dec., 1945).
- , and Atwood, E. B. "Bibliography: Present Day English." *Am. Speech*, XXI, 61-63, 132-134 (Feb., April, 1946).
- Kallen, H. M. "Of the American Spirit." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXV, 289-293 (June, 1946).
- Lash, J. S. "The Study of Negro Literary Expression." *Negro Hist. Bul.*, IX, 207-211 (June, 1946).
- "Negro expression has gained and is constantly gaining a greater status in the literature courses in American schools and colleges."
- Lippincott, H. M. "Quaker Humor." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXV, 10-16 (Spring, 1946).
- Presents samples of the distinctive humor of the Friends.
- Locke, Alain. "The Negro Minority in American Literature." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXV, 315-319 (June, 1946).
- McCormach, H. G. "A Provisional Guide to Manuscripts in the South Carolina Historical Society." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLIV, 49-53, 104-109, 171-175, 214-217 (Jan., April, July, Oct., 1945); XLVII, 53-57 (April, 1946).
- Menarini, A. "Echi dell'Italo-Americani in Italia." *Lingua Nostra*, II, 111-115 (1940).

- Muir, A. F. "Patents and Copyrights in the Republic of Texas." *Jour. So. Hist.*, XII, 204-222 (May, 1946).
- O'Connor, T. F. "Catholic Archives of the United States." *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 414-430 (Jan., 1946).
- P., W. "The First Real University Press in the United States." *Am. N&Q.*, VI, 67-71 (Aug., 1946).
 Claims of the Cornell University Press as the first "press aiming primarily at the diffusion of learning and assuming an integral role within the academic unit."
- Pollard, Lancaster. "A Pacific Northwest Bibliography, 1945." *Pacific Northwest Rev.*, XXXVII, 143-154 (April, 1946).
- Rosati, S. "Una antologia della letteratura americana." *La Nuova Europa*, II, 18 (1945).
- Seeber, E. D., and others. "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: A Current Bibliography." *Romanic Rev.*, XXXVII, 105-126 (April, 1946).
- Skard, Sigmund. "The Use of Color in Literature: A Survey of Research." *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XC, 163-249 (July, 1946).
 The bibliography includes American items.
- Spivey, H. E. "Southern Literary Culture: An Annotated Bibliography for 1945." *So. Atl. Bul.*, XII, 1-8 (April, 1946).
- Treviño, S. N. "Bibliography: Phonetics." *Am. Speech*, XXI, 63-66 (Feb., 1946).
- Walcutt, C. C. "Critic's Taste or Artist's Intention." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XII, 278-283 (Summer, 1946).
- Willey, M. M. "The Press in the University." *SRL*, XXIX, 7 (June 8, 1946).

HENRY ADAMS AND THE INFLUENCE OF WOMAN

RICHARD F. MILLER
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LIKE THE ST. GAUDENS MEMORIAL in Rock Creek Cemetery, Henry Adams has remained a mystery. In his poem "Buddha and Brahma" he confessed:

But we, who cannot fly the world, must seek
To live two separate lives; one, in the world
Which we must ever seem to treat as real;
The other in ourselves, behind a veil
Not to be raised without disturbing both.¹

Although this other life "behind a veil" can never be completely understood, a little can be known about it if one examines Adams's life-long interest in Woman.

When Adams, in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* said, "The proper study of mankind is woman," he spoke the paradox in all seriousness. He studied women in many lands, and he studied them in many ages of history.² All his works, except his historical writings, are, in varying degrees, studies of women. Such, certainly, are his two novels: *Democracy—An American Novel* (1880) and *Esther* (1884). Even the *Education*, despite its exasperating omissions of much personal data, contains numerous discussions of women and candidly admits that Adams's life had been influenced by them. And as Oscar Cargill declares, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* is:

... one of the most eloquent tributes to the power of Woman ever penned by man. For whatever she may have meant to the thirteenth century and whatever she continues to mean to the devout, the Virgin symbolized for Adams Woman Enthroned.³

Adams's first extended treatment of this subject was in a Lowell

¹ *Yale Review*, V, 82-89 (Oct., 1915), quoted by Mabel La Farge, *Letters to a Niece and Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres by Henry Adams with a Niece's Memoirs* (Boston, 1920), p. 13.

² See his letters from Japan. He also compiled the memoirs of a Tahitian queen; see bibliography in James T. Adams's biography, *Henry Adams* (New York, 1933), pp. 224-225.

³ *Intellectual America: Ideas on the March* (New York, 1941), p. 565.

lecture, delivered in 1876 and later published in *Historical Essays* (1891). In this work, "The Primitive Rights of Women," Adams does not accept the prevailing notion that the status of women had always been a degraded one; on the contrary, the evidence proved that "The earliest family . . . was a system of relationship through woman; and the germ of the future family organization was embodied in the mother, not in the father."⁴ Even the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Adams finds, are mainly running commentaries "on the Greek law of marriage."⁵ As for women in his own day, Adams sees them as being in a more degraded status than they had been since the beginning of time. Their status was low because they no longer asserted their true powers. Cargill is probably correct when he sees the heroine of *Democracy* filling a role Adams "expected his wife to fill in Washington."⁶

Adams was no Don Juan. His early letters from Germany, for example, reveal a mildly affected scorn for all young women, particularly for New England girls. He stresses the fact that when he was an escort, his job was usually to herd not one but several *fräulein* to a party as though he were their big brother. To be sure, he took his turn at dancing a gay polka, but love affairs are never mentioned until he describes meeting the future Mrs. Adams. Gamaliel Bradford was correct in saying ". . . love as a personal matter does not enter his wide analysis."⁷

How, then, did Woman attract Henry Adams? There are, I believe, four ways. The clue to the first can be found in the *Education*. There, as elsewhere—in his letters, for example—he regrets men's inability to understand the true significance of Woman.⁸ Woman and sex had to be understood, the latter for its force, if one hoped ever to understand history.⁹

⁴ P. 4. Adams continues these ideas in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*.

⁵ *Historical Essays*, p. 17.

⁶ Cargill, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

⁷ "Henry Adams," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXV, 627 (May, 1920).

⁸ Modern Library Edition (1931), p. 441. Adams felt that American men were stifling women. About woman's future, he was gloomy. She will be a victim to "A man, a church, or a machine" (p. 447).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 442. H. L. Creek believes that Adams's interest in women was one of four reasons for his medievalism ("The Mediaevalism of Henry Adams," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIV, 94, January, 1921). I cannot agree with Mr. Creek's emphasis when he says: "It was not so much the power of Mary that won him as it was her rebellion against order, convention, and fate." Adams's own words refute this. Cargill's treatment (*op. cit.*, pp. 551-569) is overloaded with Freudianism.

In any previous age, sex was strength. Neither art nor beauty was needed. Every one, even among Puritans, knew that neither Diana of the Ephesians nor any of the Oriental goddesses was worshipped for her beauty. She was goddess because of her force . . . she was reproduction—the greatest and most mysterious of all energies; all she needed was to be fecund.¹⁰

The Virgin symbolized the momentum of this force:

Symbol or energy, the Virgin had acted as the greatest force the Western world ever felt, and had drawn man's activities to herself more strongly than any other power, natural or supernatural, had ever done. . . .¹¹

To convince practical Americans that the Virgin was a force, he gives statistics in terms of American dollars. He reminds us that between 1170 and 1270 a thousand million dollars was spent on cathedrals and churches. No other passion and no other economic effort, except war, had, to date, resulted in that much spending. The arts—sculpture, painting, poetry, and mosaic—could never be computed accurately in dollars and cents.¹²

There is no need here to belabor or to repeat Adams's detailed descriptions of the medieval women, all of them forces surpassed only by the symbolic Virgin—the greatest single force in the thirteenth century. As he tells us:

He never doubted her force, since he felt it to the last fibre of his being, and could not more dispute its mastery than he could dispute the force of gravitation of which he knew nothing but the formula. He was only too glad to yield himself entirely, not to her charm or to any sentimentality of religion, but to her mental and physical energy of creation which had built up these World's Fairs of thirteenth-century force that turned Chicago and St. Louis pale.¹³

Woman was force or energy; that is one reason she attracted Adams. She was, in other words, one more study for which Adams could find some equation or formula. Her appeal in this sense is mainly intellectual.

The second reason is that he found in woman the generic sym-

¹⁰ *Education*, p. 384. Cf. pp. 385, 441-448, 458, 468. According to Adams, only Whitman and Harte among Americans utilized the power of sex in literature (p. 384).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389.

¹² *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (Boston and New York, 1913), p. 95.

¹³ *Education*, p. 469.

bol of the great comforter, in a sense the great mother of all gods. This much can be said dogmatically—so far as anything can ever be said dogmatically about Henry Adams: his irony was always absent when he dealt with, or discussed, women. One of his students remarked soon after his death: "There was never a touch of cynicism or disillusionment in anything he had to say of symbolical or dead women, any more than in his conversation with their living daughters."¹⁴

One is always impressed by the fact that women and young girls were forever watching over him. During the final six years of his life, for example, there were at least two young ladies caring for him. No man ever had so many "nieces" who adored such an omniscient "uncle." *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* is told to "nieces," implying that they alone could understand him. One of these, Mabel La Farge, says that the "nieces" are interested mainly in the *Education* for what has been omitted.¹⁵ For Adams, then, the Virgin was the great comforter. To the Virgin went the masses of oppressed people for comfort which they found neither in God, the Son, nor in the Trinity. To the Virgin, likewise, went Henry Adams with a fervent prayer that seems completely incongruous in the light of his other writing:

Help me to see; not with my mimic sight—
 With yours! which carried radiance, like the sun,
 Giving the rays you saw with—light in light—
 Tying all suns and stars and worlds in one.

Help me to know! not with my mocking art—
 With you, who knew yourself unbound by laws;
 Gave God your strength, your life, your sight, your heart,
 And took from him the Thought that Is—the Cause.

Help me to feel! not with my insect sense,—
 With yours that felt all life alive in you;
 Infinite heart beating at your expense;
 Infinite passion breathing the breath you drew!

Help me to bear! not my own baby load,
 But yours; who bore the failure of the light,
 The strength, the knowledge and the thought of God,—
 The futile folly of the Infinite.¹⁶

¹⁴ Henry Osborn Taylor, "The Education of Henry Adams," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXII, 486-487 (October, 1918).

¹⁵ *Memoirs of a Niece*, p. 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

To recognize how much Adams found comfort and solace in woman is to recognize how tragic to him the death of his wife must have been. That tragedy may explain why he came to write *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*.¹⁷ The older he became, the more he sought the company of women. His brother Brooks says, in a sketch of Henry he wrote soon after the latter's death: "Henry came rather to shun me, seeming to prefer women's society, in which he could be amused [*sic*] or tranquilized."¹⁸

In the presence of the Virgin, Henry Adams found apotheosized solace and comfort which he found in varying degrees in the presence of all women. Those who say this comfort was a compensation for religion may be correct, although Adams would have smiled a little at the word *religion*.¹⁹ But the St. Gaudens Monument, which satisfied Adams, symbolizes, in a woman's form, a peace which orthodox religious people are inclined to suspect.

The third quality that beguiled Adams was the importance of faith in Woman as a means to truth and as a guide in all her actions. Woman had to be convinced by faith; and gradually Adams himself came to believe that reason by itself was inadequate. In *Esther*, George Strong remarks:

The trouble with you is that you start wrong. . . . You need what is called faith, and are trying to get it by reason. It can't be done. Faith is a state of mind, like love or jealousy. You can never reason yourself into it.²⁰

¹⁷ The death of his wife drove him over the world searching for relief, for something that is difficult to express precisely. One of the few references to his wife after her death occurs in a letter to Elizabeth Cameron (*The Letters of Henry Adams*, Boston, 1938, II, 638). In commenting on the death of Henry James two years before his own death, he says of James: ". . . he belonged to the circle of my wife's set long before I knew him or her, and you know how I have clung to all that belonged to my wife. I have been living all day in the seventies." Then echoing Swinburne's "Itylus": "Swallow, sister! sweet sister swallow! indeed and indeed, we really were happy then." Significantly this is written to a woman.

¹⁸ "The Heritage of Henry Adams," an introduction to Henry's posthumous *Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (New York, 1920). Brooks was at least a sounding board for Henry in discussions of women, and he may have influenced Henry's thinking on this subject as he influenced his thinking about history, as two historians have pointed out: H. E. Barnes ("Brooks Adams on World Utopia," *Current History*, VI, 1-6, January, 1944); and C. A. Beard (in the Introduction to Brooks's *Law of Civilization and Decay*, New York, 1943). In "The Heritage of Henry Adams," Brooks is genuinely concerned about the dangers of future unsexing of women (pp. 118-119 and elsewhere).

¹⁹ Creek, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁰ *Esther*, ed. Robert E. Spiller (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1938), p. 201.

Although Esther's reason tells her that she loves Stephen Hazard, her intuition tells her that he will never be her husband. Hazard's reasoning and that of Strong merely make Esther panicky. Ultimately, both *Democracy* and *Esther* end in question marks; nothing is resolved, for neither heroine can be convinced by reason even though reason has able champions. Both are as puzzled about life as Adams.²¹

At first glance *Democracy* is merely a picture of forces and energies in a corrupt capital, but it ends by becoming a study of a woman's mind. Madeleine Lee is essentially intuitive, and "Her final judgment of her own case is in terms of her intuitive understanding of moral forces. . . ."²²

Esther is a profounder examination of a woman's faith as a test of truth than is *Democracy*, but one has to turn again to *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* to find this aspect analyzed most completely. I believe Professor Spiller had this in mind when he said: "The trail from Esther to the Virgin of Chartres is a long and intricate one, but it is straight."²³ Reason, fond as he was of it and unhappy as he would have been had he had to abandon it, was for Adams the means by which men arrived only at antinomies.

Women represented one other thing to Henry Adams. She embodied regeneration. Although man had but a secondary, uneasy role in the universe, woman felt at home. She knew intuitively the universe was a *uni-verse* ". . . because she had made it after the image of her own fecundity. . . ."²⁴ In the "Prayer," already quoted in part, Adams says:

But years, or ages, or eternity,
Will find me still in thought before your throne,
Pondering the mystery of Maternity,
Soul within Soul—Mother and Child in One!²⁵

²¹ Max I. Baym ("William James and Henry Adams," *New England Quarterly*, X, 717-742, Dec., 1937) discusses Adams's marginal comments on James's *Principles of Psychology*. Adams underscored in the following manner a passage from James's work: "'But just as our courage is so often a reflex of another's courage, so our faith is apt to be, as Max Muller somewhere says, a faith in some one else's faith.'" Adams placed a question mark here. Mr. Baym remarks: "To students of the character and work of Henry Adams that mark speaks volumes" (p. 742).

²² Spiller (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. vii. On another page Mr. Spiller observes that Adams learned after many years of reasoning "the central truth of life which every woman knows by intuition . . ." (p. xix).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Education*, p. 459.

²⁵ La Farge, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

One of his nieces has this to say:

But not only was the Virgin of Chartres the embodiment of mercy and purity to Henry Adams—as Kwannon was also—but in her he found its most perfect form, the mysterious underlying principle of the universe that so fascinated him and that had been denied him in his own human existence, namely the transmission of life. One can imagine what the Child of the Virgin meant to him, when every human child had filled him with such awe.²⁶

In a similar vein, Professor Spiller observes:

What he had suspected of Esther, he at last found to be true of the Virgin, or at least of man's worship of her. As the creative life force which alone of all determinants of human experience can bring the soul into focus, Esther was now enshrined at Chartres. . . .²⁷

The Virgin, in addition to retaining other feminine traits which interested Adams, symbolized the universal reproductive force. On historical grounds he was interested because he believed that maternity and reproduction are the most typical of all movements of inertia, and that "woman's property of moving in a constant line forever is ultimate, uniting history in its only unbroken and unbreakable sequence."²⁸ The Virgin gave Adams, the scientific positivist, the best working formula with which to formulize all phenomena.²⁹

The Adams "behind a veil" is best understood by recognizing how potent Woman's influence was upon him. Her sexual force, her role as a comforting mother, her reliance upon intuitive knowledge, and finally her power as the source of reproduction—all these affected the philosophy of Henry Adams. No final estimate of Adams in terms of Comteian positivism or philosophical determinism will ever explain his mind if the influence of Woman is neglected.

Esther is the best key we have to the mystery surrounding the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Esther*, p. xix. See quotation on p. 3 n. 10.

²⁸ *Education*, p. 441.

²⁹ Adams tended to regard all people as symbols; note his description of Garibaldi (*ibid.*, pp. 94-95).

suicide of Mrs. Adams,³⁰ but available material offers no final solution. Even though we do not know all the facts, Adams appears to have been a victim of a poignant irony; he, probably more than any other man in his age, sought to understand Woman; yet his own wife committed suicide.³¹

³⁰ See Katherine Symonds, "The Tragedy of Mrs. Henry Adams," *New England Quarterly*, IX, 564-582 (December, 1936). In this connection, see again Cargill, *op. cit.*

³¹ The recent collection of Adams's letters compiled by Harold Dean Cater, *Henry Adams and His Friends* (Boston, 1947), which appeared too late for inclusion in this article, may throw new light on this mystery.

MARK TWAIN'S SANDWICH ISLANDS LECTURE AT ST. LOUIS

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WHEN ALBERT BIGELOW PAINE compiled *Mark Twain's Speeches*,¹ he included in the volume some extracts from Mark Twain's original lecture on the Sandwich Islands, delivered in San Francisco on October 2, 1866. In a preface to the extracts Paine informs the reader that this lecture was "many times repeated in this country and Great Britain." This statement is, however, only approximately correct, for while Mark Twain lectured on the Sandwich Islands at many times and places during 1866 and 1867, he varied the lectures considerably to suit the circumstances under which each speech was given.

It was on Monday evening, March 25, 1867, that Mark Twain delivered the Sandwich Islands lecture in St. Louis. Six years had elapsed since he had given up piloting and had left the city which had been his home for nearly four years to go West with his brother Orion, the newly appointed Secretary of the Nevada Territory. Now, back in St. Louis for a brief visit with his family and friends, he appeared on the platform at Mercantile Hall, no longer Sam Clemens, obscure river man and pilot, but "Mark Twain," journalist, author, lecturer, and well-known humorist.

Using the same techniques for ballyhooing the St. Louis lecture that he had used so successfully in San Francisco and other Western towns, Mark Twain captured local interest by means of a humorous advertisement in which he promised, in order to illustrate the customs of the ancient cannibals of the Sandwich Islands, to "devour a child in the presence of the audience, if some lady will kindly volunteer an infant for the occasion."² In the Sunday edition of the *Missouri Republican* he also published a letter, in which he humorously explained his fitness to lecture for the benefit of his sponsors, the South St. Louis Mission Sunday School, and offered a number of farcical prizes in order to promote interest in his lecture. The letter is so typical of Mark Twain's earlier humor and of his technique in advertising his first public appearances that it is offered here in full.

¹ New York, 1923.

² *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), March 24, 1867.

EDITOR, SUNDAY REPUBLICAN:

You may not know that I am going to lecture at Mercantile Hall tomorrow night for the benefit of the *South St. Louis Mission Sunday School*, but I am. I do not consider any apology necessary. I would like to have a Sunday School of my own, but I would not be competent to run it, you know, because I have not had experience, and so I have thought that the next most gratifying thing I could do would be to give somebody else's Sunday School a lift. I used to go to Sunday School myself, a long time ago, and it is on that account that I have always taken a powerful interest in such institutions since. I even rose to be a teacher in one once, but they discharged me because they said the information I imparted was of too general a character.

I have done some good in my time, though. When I was elected to the Chief Magistracy of the Burlesque Government of the territory of Nevada, I delivered my annual message to the Legislature for the benefit of a church, and charged double admission. The proceeds enabled them to put a new roof on that church, and everybody said that that roof would cave in, some time or other, and mash the congregation, because I was one of those sinful newspaper men, but it never did. Ever since then I have been ambitious to put a roof on a Sunday School and see if it could stand it, and now I have got a chance. I feel a little proud about it, and I wish you would mention it in your paper that I am going to lecture for the benefit of a Sunday School, so that they will see it in California, because, you know, if I were merely to say it myself, without any endorsement, they would copper it. [That is a Californian poetical similie; when they don't believe a statement there, they say copper it.]

I want this Sunday School experiment of mine to be a success, now that I have got this opening, and so I offer the following splendid prizes to encourage an interest among the public. (One has got to turn everything into a lottery now-a-days, to make it popular. However, there is no harm in it maybe, because even the church festivals have their little lottery arrangements, you know.)

For the best conundrum, first prize, a beautiful elephant. N.B. He is a little cadaverous, now, but a few tons of hay and confectionery would soon feed him up to a condition of symmetry and vivacity that would render him a favorite at the fireside, and the pet of the

household. It is far better to have an elephant around than a cat, because cats sleep on the bed, but an elephant never.

For the best poem on Summer or Summer Complaint (option with the author), the second prize, consisting of eighteen hundred Auger Holes, will be awarded. These auger holes are really magnificent specimens of the carpenter's beautiful art, and have elicited the wildest burst of admiration wherever they have been exhibited, both in America and among the crowned heads of Europe. Queen Victoria observed of them that she only wanted to see these auger holes once more and then die. Competitors for this prize may call around and look through them free of charge, if they desire it. They will be found to possess as many virtues as any auger holes.

For the most plausible Essay on Female Suffrage the Third prize, consisting of that splendid piece of property known as Lafayette Park, is offered. This beautiful park lies out toward Compton Hill, and is tastefully laid out in walks, and bridges, and holes in the ground, and piles of dirt, and has neat legible signs to tell you where the grass is when there is any there.

The iron fence around it is a gem in itself. Few people can contemplate it without emotion, and nobody can climb it without stilts. Lafayette Park would cut up handsomely for city lots, and bring enormous prices. The winner of the Third prize will be awarded it. The diversion he will experience in trying to get possession of the property, must be a fortune in itself, and will afford him the liveliest entertainment as long as he lives.

How's that?

N.B. This moral lecture on the Sandwich Islands, which I am going to deliver, is a separate institution all by itself, and is not connected with any other circus.

MARK TWAIN³

Since Mark Twain's Sandwich Island lectures were not given from a single standardized text, but were adapted to the time and place of the lecture, the version taken from the files of the *Missouri Republican* is worthy of presentation.⁴ The fulness of the report indicates either that Mark Twain supplied the newspaper with a copy of his lecture notes or that the reporter was capable of taking the lecture in shorthand.

The humorist opened his program with a favorite anecdote of Horace

³ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1867.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1867.

Greeley going to a lecture at Carson City, Nevada, after which he began as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I suppose you are all interested in the Sandwich Islands; of course you must be, because it is the center of Missionary labor. And you all know that hymn which so aptly refers to it; (he repeats)

"From Greenland's icy mountains," etc. As no one was going to lead the singing, he would leave it where it was.

The Sandwich Islands are situated about 2100 miles southwest from San Francisco. I wonder why they were placed in the middle of the Ocean; as it is none of our business, we won't talk any more about it. It is a splendid sugar country, better than the best of Louisiana land, from 5000 to 13000 pounds of sugar can be raised to the acre, but I own no acre there.

The islands are twelve in number, and have volcanoes, the largest dead volcanoes in the world. Eighty years ago, there was a population of 400,000 people. The White men came, brought civilization and several other diseases, and now the race is fast dying out, and will be extinct in about fifty years hence. They got consumption when civilization got there, and they will shortly retire from business. When they pack up and leave we will take possession as lawful heirs. There are 3000 whites there, mostly Americans, and they are still increasing. They own all the money, control all the commerce, and own all the ships. They have a constitutional monarchy but they have no constitution, and the monarchy is only an empty name. A Kanaka or a native is nobody unless he has a princely income of \$75 annually, or a splendid estate worth \$100. The country is full of office holders and office-seekers; there are plenty of such noble patriots. Of almost any party of three men, two would be office-holders and one an office-seeker. In a little island, half the size of one of the wards of St. Louis, there are lots of noblemen, princes, and men of high degree, with grand titles, holding big offices, receiving immense salaries—such as ministers of War, secretaries of the Navy, secretaries of state and ministers of justice. They make a fine display of uniforms, and are very imposing at a funeral. That's the country for a petty hero to go to; he would soon have the conceit taken out of him. There are so many of them, that a nobleman from any other country would be nobody.

They only lionize their own people, and therefore they lionize everybody. In education, refinement and culture, the sons and daughters of our missionaries there need not be ashamed to compare themselves with their brothers and sisters in the United States. And there has never been a stain upon any of their names. The first thing a stranger does, on arriving at the Islands, is to collect shinbones of dead Kanakas, fossils and coral, but he never succeeds in carrying any of them away, because he soon gets tired of it—the novelty wears off. A stranger going there now need not be looking for curiosities, for in the back yard of every house he will see piles of shinbones of dead Kanakas, heaps of fossils and stacks of coral. He will also, as a first experiment, pick up about a dozen Kanaka words; he won't talk English; he won't say good morning, like a Christian; he will say all-ay-ho. One man had been there three weeks and he came to breakfast with me. I asked him how he would have his beef steak—rare or well done. He replied, "Muckee—Muckee—guckee," etc. "Well," said I, "you can Muckee, Muckee, guckee yourself out of this. I won't have anything to do with you."

We can have any climate we want in the Sandwich Islands. On the summits, which are 16000 feet above the level of the valley, whose tops are whitened by perpetual snow, we can have everlasting winter, and near the lea [*sic*] shore everlasting summer. A single glance of the eye takes in all the climates of the earth. It was so cold on the tops of the mountains that I could not speak the truth, but on level ground I can speak the truth as well—as any other man.

The climate is wonderfully healthy, for white people in particular, so healthy that white people venture on the most reckless imprudence. They get up too early; you can see them as early as half-past-seven in the morning, and they attend to all their business, and keep it up till sundown. It don't hurt 'em, and yet it ought to do so. I have seen it so hot in California that greenbacks went up 142 in the shade.

The volcano Kee-law-ay-oh is 17000 feet in diameter, and 700 to 800 feet deep. Vesuvius is nowhere. It is the largest dead volcano in the world; shoots up flames tremendously high. You witness a scene of unrivalled sublimity, and witness the most astonishing sights. When the volcano Kee-law-ay-oh broke through a few years

ago, lava flowed out of it for twenty days and twenty nights, and made a stream forty miles in length, till it reached the sea, tearing up forests in its awful fiery path, swallowing up huts, destroying all vegetation, rioting through shady dells and sinuous canons. Amidst this carnival of destruction, majestic columns of smoke ascended, and formed a cloudy murky pall overhead. Sheets of green, blue, lambent flame were shot upwards and pierced this vast bloom, making all sublimely grand. [After this burst of eloquence, he clapped his hands and the audience joined, making the vaulted roof of the Library Hall reverberate with the sound of enthusiastic applause.]

I once knew a great, tall gawky country editor, near Sacramento to whom I sent an Ode on the sea, starting it with "The long, green swell of the Pacific." The country editor sent back a letter and stated I couldn't fool him, and he didn't want any base insinuations from me. He knew who I meant when I wrote the "long, green swell of the Pacific."

There is one thing characteristic of the tropics that a stranger must have, whether he likes it or not, and that is the boo-hoo fever. Its symptoms are nausea of the stomach, severe headache, backache and bellyache, and a general utter indifference whether the school keeps or not. You can't be a full citizen of the Sandwich Islands unless you have had boo-hoo fever. You'll never forget it. I remember a little boy who had it once there. A New Yorker asked him if he were afraid to die. He said, "No; I am not afraid to die of anything except boo-hoo fever." The moral force used by the missionaries, in the Sandwich Islands, is not much. But they are the right kind of men there—they have just the grit, to hold on like grim death. Bishop Staley of the English Missionary church is not very popular. The Societies in London have ceased to support him, and his mission has a dull unhealthy look. The king belongs to the church but he never goes there, and he still adheres to the pagan form of worship. The king is a gentleman, but the American Missionaries made him so. The bishop's church is making some progress, and there is plenty of room for it; but they will never succeed in ousting the American missionaries. [After another burst of eloquence about some perennial flower, he applauds himself; would repeat it again if requested to by the audience; the audience re-

quests him to proceed, but the lecturer declines with such a comical gesture, that it sends the audience into convulsions.]

In Honolulu, merchants go to their business at nine a.m., and cease business at four p.m. They will have nothing to do with business till next morning. Why cannot we do so? But I did not come here to preach a sermon to you, although I would as soon do it as not. A street fight keeps the people excited for about two weeks; an elopement gives them something to converse about for one year but a murder they will never get over talking about. The whites in Honolulu have no jokes to indulge in. They are not imbued with the spirit of joking. I told some jokes to a quiet, sober-looking, grave, and demure missionary, and I believe he is exercised over some of the subtler ones to this day. The missionaries do not know the names of one-third of the sins which figure in the sin calendar. Pity we were not more like them. The people do not often get drunk in that country; the duties are too high. But I saw some of the wild ranchmen of Hawaii drink kerosene and aqua fortis, and I saw some of them get drunk on a whole barrel of Mustang Liniment. When the natives eat, they all eat socially, from the same calabash one after the other, with their fingers. They are not very particular or careful whether their hands are washed or not. It is not absolutely necessary that they should wash their hands. They have a fish [*sic*] they call *poy* which they eat. Eating poy will cure a drunkard. In order to like poy you must get used to it. It smells a good deal worse than it tastes, and it tastes a good deal worse than it looks. I am sending all my friends there.

The natives are of a rich, dark brown color, lazy, perhaps, but not vicious, nor very virtuous. The women wear a long, loose calico garment, but the men don't. [Loud and continued applause.] Guess I won't continue that subject any longer.

In former times the King's person was sacred, he was the supreme head of the church and the State, he was the captain over all, the arbiter of fate, the Lord of life. There was a law that if a man came to the King with a wet head, he should die; if any man's shadow fell on the king he had to die. If the king put his taboo on anyone there was no hope for him; (by the bye from this we get our word tabooed). In former times the women were the abject slaves of the whole party. By the ancient taboo, (law of the land,)

death was the punishment of a woman, who dared sit at the same table as a man. If she ate choice fruit, she was to suffer the death penalty. The poor degraded savages of these islands found out somehow that a woman ate some fruit in the Garden of Eden, and that the whole human race was suffering from that thing ever since, and therefore they were not willing to take the chance of some other evil overtaking them, by letting women eat any fruit. But the American missionaries came, broke off the shackles from the whole race, broke the power of the King, the state and the clergy, and elevated the women to the equal of the men. Today, it is the best educated nation in the world, of its size. Our missionaries did it all. Every Kanaka has a dozen mothers. If they like a woman, they call her Mother. A Los Angeles man got there once, and being boss over a party of Kanakas, one day one of them came to him, and asked leave of absence to go and bury his mother. Of course the leave was granted. In about a month he came for another leave of absence, for the same purpose. He got that also. For several times he obtained leave of absence to go and bury a mother. On the fifth demand the Los Angeles man asked him how many mothers he had. He answered—twelve—well, go and bury them all, but don't let me see you again.

Those natives are strange folks. They are not afraid of death, no, no more than a jilted Frenchman. If they take a notion to die, nothing will stop them, you can't argue it out with them. They are also fond of dogs. Such dogs that a white man would condemn at first sight on general principles. They are not large dogs, neither; neither are they useful ones, but ugly curs. They love the pups, better than any of their own family. They will take care of a pup—pet him—feed him—caress him—fondle him, and when he has become fat they kill him—cook him—and then eat him. The natives are very fond of raw fish, they will bite in two a living fish, and then eat him up. There used to be some cannibals, but they are almost played out. One cannibal once, after eating several specimens of his own race, caught a missionary—killed him—and served him up, but he could not digest the old missionary no more than he could a keg of nails; he died—miserably died. They are also very fond of horses. These are probably worth about seven dollars and a half—the scrubbiest lot of horses in the world. They have

eleven distinct styles of gallop. When one of them gallops he mixes them all up at once, making it rather uncomfortable. The women all ride like men. I wish to introduce that reform in this country. Our ladies ought, by all means to ride like men, these side saddles are so dangerous. When women meet each other on the road, they run out and kiss and hug each other, and they don't blackguard each other behind each others' backs. I would like to introduce that reform, also. I am not married, myself, but yet I have no right to advertise myself this way publicly. Still I am not married. In former times, when a great noble died, they bit pieces of their own bodies off—knocked two or three teeth out. They would also kill now and then an infant—bury him alive sometimes; but the missionaries have annihilated infanticide. The American missionaries are opposed to infanticide—for my part, I can't see why. It is an old adage, Be virtuous and you will be happy. The nation are not virtuous and yet they are happy. When a woman cries, a dozen others will congregate around and they will whine, blubber, bawl and snuffle for an hour together. Rare sympathizing crowd. I will end this chapter and the lecture by stating they do everything wrong and foremost, dismounting from a horse on the wrong side, and mounting a horse on the wrong side. The same word stands for goodbye and how do you do. In the noble American game of high-low-Jack or seven up, they deal the cards to the left instead of the right. They bathe in the middle of the day, and are liable to kill themselves. When inviting a person to approach, they make a sign, that with us is considered a repulsive motion. The duck, a water bird, lives 5000 feet above the level of the water. They dance at funerals, and spit on a spoon when they want to clean it. They wash their shirts with a club, and iron them with a brickbat.

The *Missouri Republican* reports that Mark Twain's lecture was not only immensely pleasing to the audience but exceptionally profitable to the South St. Louis Mission Sunday School. According to the enthusiastic reporter, Mark Twain had "succeeded in doing what we have seen Emerson and other literary magnates fail in attempting . . .," which, if not competent criticism, was nevertheless flattering praise.⁵ Needless to say, the matter of swallowing a child and the other wonderful feats Mark Twain had promised in his humorous advertisements seem to have been forgotten in the amusement of the evening.

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 26, 1867.

JONATHAN EDWARDS AND WILLIAM GODWIN ON VIRTUE

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NEARLY HALF A CENTURY after its composition, Jonathan Edwards's *Dissertation concerning the Nature of True Virtue* became a central point at issue in a three-cornered dispute between William Godwin, Samuel Parr, and Robert Hall.¹ The nature of the dispute is summarized by Godwin in a pamphlet replying to a published sermon by Parr:

I know not whether it is of sufficient importance to notice the strictures Dr. Parr has made upon my marginal reference to Jonathan Edwards, in *Political Justice*, p. 129. See *Spital Sermon*, p. 74. Every candid reader will perceive that the reference is not made for the purpose of giving authority to what is there stated by me on the subject of gratitude. The name of Jonathan Edwards is much too far removed from general eminence and notoriety in English literature, to answer any such purpose. I affixed his name to the page, merely from a spirit of frankness, because in reality it was Jonathan Edwards's Essay there referred to, which first led me into the train of thinking on that point exhibited in *Political Justice*; and I believed it would be unmanly to suppress the name of my benefactor. If any person is either amused or instructed by Dr. Parr's distinction between virtue and true virtue, in order to prove that, though Jonathan Edwards denied gratitude to be true virtue, he admitted it to be virtue simply taken, I confess I have too much humanity to be willing to disturb his enjoyments.²

It can be seen that Godwin is trying to brush off Parr's interpretation of Edwards as merely a scholastic difference. A study of Edwards's ethical system, however, will show that Parr has a legitimate point and that his statement that Edwards recognizes two levels of virtue is literally correct. At the same time, Godwin's imaginative insight is leading him to a perception of the nihilistic tendencies of Edwards's system and revealing their ultimate conse-

¹ The work was written with *A Dissertation concerning the End for Which God Created the World* in 1755, and the two were published posthumously in 1765 in one volume (*The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, London, 1839, I, 94).

² *Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon, Preached at Christ Church, April 15, 1800* (London, 1801), pp. 50-51.

quences. A cursory view of Edwards's views of virtue will show the degree of truth in each of these conflicting interpretations based on Edwards's concept of gratitude as well as other similarities between the thought of Godwin and Edwards.

The problem of virtue has three fundamental phases; one concerns the nature of virtue per se, and the other two concern the relation of virtue to conduct, that is, the obligation to virtue and the motives to virtue. As Edwards himself points out, nearly all writers on the subject, both deists and divines, regard love of benevolence as the essence of virtue.³ The differences arise over obligation, or imperatives of conduct, and motives, or springs of conduct. Edwards's essay, primarily a treatment of the metaphysics of virtue, does not specifically discuss either obligation or motives as such, although these practical aspects of the problem do appear incidentally.

Edwards's theory of virtue harks back ultimately to Platonic cosmogony. In his other posthumous work, *A Dissertation concerning the End for Which God Created the World*, Edwards sketches the principle of plenitude, which he calls "fulness" and treats in Gospel terms.⁴ It was, Edwards says, God's disposition to communicate himself or diffuse his own fulness, "signifying and comprehending all the good which is in God natural and moral, either excellence or happiness," which moved him to create the world. The happiness of the individual in creation, Edwards portrays as attainable only through approach toward union with God. "The more happiness the greater union; when the happiness is perfect, the union is perfect."⁵ In harmony with this system of divine benevolence, the *Dissertation concerning . . . Virtue* is devoted to developing the fundamental statement that "true virtue most essentially consists in benevolence to being in general."⁶ Since every intelligent being is in some way related to being in general and "is a part of the universal system of existence," virtue must be "its union and consent with the great whole." Love embracing anything less than the whole of existence cannot be perfect virtue. Only true grace and real holiness are virtue in this sense, for benevolence extending only to private systems—even though including millions—is limited and inferior to benevolence to being in general. If the term *existentialism* were not already appropriated to a twentieth-

³ *Works*, I, 122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 122.

century philosophy, it might be a convenient designation for this system.

The emphasis on love is implicit in Edwards's *A Treatise concerning Religious Affections*, published several years before the composition of his work on virtue. In this essay, in which he seeks to prove that "the affections are very much the spring of men's actions," Edwards asserts that love is "the chief of the affections, and the fountain of all others," that it "includes the whole of a sincerely benevolent propensity of the soul towards God and man."⁷ Although this doctrine is introduced for the purposes of the essay in hand to show that the "affection of love" is the "sum of all religion," it is of a piece with the Shaftesbury-Hutcheson theory of the influence of the benevolent affections in human conduct. Edwards did not hesitate to recognize this affinity with the deists. It was no threat to the rest of his theology. What did threaten his consistency was the conflict with a basic doctrine associated with Calvinism, the doctrine that only motives of self-love are operative in human nature. In *The . . . Doctrine of Original Sin*, published a few years after the composition of the treatise on virtue, Edwards affirms that the superior principles comprehended in divine love wholly ceased to operate in mankind at the time of Adam's fall, leaving only the inferior principles of self-love and natural appetite.

In the *Dissertation concerning . . . Virtue*, however, Edwards reconciles the antinomies of self-love and the benevolent affections. The definition of virtue as love of all being establishes the benevolent affections as the foundation of his scheme. In an identification reminiscent of Shaftesbury, he designates virtue or "true grace and real holiness" as primary beauty. His standard of true virtue, excluding anything less than general affection for being in general, is so rigorous, however, that it automatically excludes every creature in the universe but the divine.⁸ Friendship, family affection, and other forms of limited benevolence common among human beings, nevertheless, are not explained out of existence. They merely lose their right to be termed virtue. All types of limited altruism as well as self-love and variously purely aesthetic categories are classified as secondary beauty.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 240.

⁸ For the resemblance of this rigorousness to Bernard Mandeville's, see Clarence H. Faust and Thomas H. Johnson (eds.), *Jonathan Edwards*, American Writers Series (New York, 1935), p. lxxxviii.

By this distinction between primary and secondary beauty, Edwards has at a stroke justified his own theological doctrine of depravity and subsumed under it all of the purely ethical systems which deny depravity. By converting into well-ordered subordinates principles which had threatened to overturn his fundamental tenet, he is able to explain the operation of springs of action asserted by other ethical theorists: Shaftesbury's moral sense, Butler's conscience, Hutcheson's senses of beauty and right, Wollaston's rule of right, and Hobbes's self-love. While Edwards is accepting these principles as psychological drives, he is denying their right to be called virtues, simultaneously utilizing and destroying them.

The manner in which gratitude as a limited affection would fit into this scheme, which directly influenced William Godwin, is obvious. Edwards's extended analysis of gratitude appears as a fundamental part of his argument that the operation of the moral sense is not true virtue. He attempts to establish this by proving that the passions of gratitude and anger are actually inspired by self-love in opposition to those who affirm another principle, "*viz. moral sense*, or sense of moral beauty and deformity, determining the minds of all mankind to approve of vice, and behold it with displice; and that their seeing or supposing this moral beauty or deformity, in the kindness of a benefactor, or opposition of an adversary, is the occasion of these affections of gratitude or anger."⁹ To those who argue that gratitude and anger are explainable only on the supposition of a moral sense since these passions extend only to creatures with will or feelings (we feel no gratitude toward a garden or anger toward a tempest), Edwards replies that the same reasoning could be used to prove that these passions are based upon self-love. In other words, the limiting our passions to percipient beings has nothing to do with whether they be caused by self-love or moral sense. It is not at all hard to believe, Edwards continues, that the Author of nature should order self-love to cause the mind to be variously affected by different objects, to react in one manner toward inanimate objects which gratify self-love and in another toward beings with will and understanding who use these faculties to promote our interest. Even though it be granted that in gratitude and anger there be the exercise of some moral sense, Edwards

⁹ *Works*, I, 131.

maintains that this moral sense would still not be virtue, but a type of secondary beauty, a sense of desert or of justice. The beauty in the virtue called justice, Edwards had previously observed, "consists in the agreement of different things, that have relation to one another in nature, manner and, measure" and is of the same kind as uniformity and proportion in material objects.¹⁰ Even though a sense of justice or desert be concerned in the passions of gratitude and anger, this is "moral sense of a *secondary* kind, and is entirely different from a sense . . . of the original essential beauty of true virtue."¹¹ Furthermore, Edwards continues, it is not even necessary to gratitude and anger that there should be any notion of justice in them. For example, if a ship's crew, planning mutiny, were to have their evil intentions exposed by one of their number, they would experience anger toward their betrayer, a passion not remotely connected with justice. Similarly, if a gang of robbers, about to be seized in their lair by officers of the law, are warned in time by some kind person, the robbers would experience gratitude toward their benefactor. Yet there is no supposition of public good in that which excites their gratitude any more than there is public injury in the anger of the mutineers. Finally, Edwards observes that the "passion of *anger*, in particular, seems to have been unluckily chosen as a medium to prove a sense and determination to delight in virtue, consisting in benevolence natural to all mankind." This is a refutation of Shaftesbury's attempt in the *Characteristics* to utilize the passions, including anger, as evidence of a moral sense.¹² Edwards declares that if anger were a result of benevolent impulses, a disposition toward anger would increase in proportion as a man develops sweetness and benevolence of temper, but in reality the opposite tendency prevails. He summarizes his discussion of gratitude with the statement that although some gratitude is truly virtuous and the want of gratitude is truly vicious, not all anger, nor all gratitude "arises from a truly virtuous benevolence of heart." This conclusion

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 129.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 131.

¹² So far as I know, Shaftesbury is the only writer who attempts to describe anger as a product of moral sense. See John M. Robertson (ed.), *Characteristics* (London, 1900), II, 140: "There is just and unjust; and belonging to it a natural presumption or anticipation on which the resentment or anger is founded. For what else could make the wickedest of mankind often prefer the interest of their revenge to all other interests, and even to life itself, except only a sense of wrong natural to all men?" Even without Edwards's objection, this rhetoric does not seem very convincing.

is obviously more temperate than the arguments which precede it, all of which show that gratitude and anger are not truly virtues. Edwards's argument certainly leads to Godwin's assertion that gratitude "is no part either of justice or virtue,"¹⁸ but Parr also is correct in his assertion, based on Edwards's qualifying phrases, that Edwards accepts gratitude as a virtue, but not as true virtue.

Godwin's treatment of gratitude is related to another principle in his chapter "Of Justice" which is held in common with Edwards and which may have been suggested to Godwin by Edwards's treatise. This is the underlying principle of one of the most notorious sections in Godwin's work, the parable of Fénelon and his chambermaid (changed to his valet in later editions). This parable is designed to illustrate the principle that all men, because of their common humanity, are in a sense entitled to equal attention, but in reality one man "is a being of more worth and importance than the other."¹⁴ Just as "a man is of more worth than a beast, because, being possessed of higher faculties, he is capable of a more refined and genuine happiness," so Fénelon is of more worth than his chambermaid, and if, in the event of a fire, a choice must be made between one and the other, his life is to be preferred. This choice is mandatory, first, because of the private consideration that Fénelon is a "being farther removed from the state of a mere animal," and, second, because of the social consideration that Fénelon, through the influence of his immortal *Telemachus*, would promote the benefit and happiness of thousands.

The first principle of determining the value of an individual by measuring his degree of removal from the state of an animal is exactly parallel to Edwards's principle of determining the degree of amiableness of an individual by measuring the extent of its being. In conformity with his definition of virtue as love of being in general, Edwards describes pure benevolence as "being's uniting consent, or propensity to being; and inclining to the general highest good, and to each being, whose welfare is consistent with the highest general good, in proportion to the degree of existence."¹⁵ The resemblance of this principle to Godwin's adaptation is apparent in a

¹⁸ Raymond A. Preston (ed.), *An Enquiry concerning Political Justice* (New York, 1926), I, 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 41.

¹⁵ *Works*, I, 123.

footnote in which Edwards amplifies the meaning of "the degree of existence":

That which is *great*, has more existence, and is further from nothing, than that which is *little*. One being may have every thing positive belonging to it, or everything which goes to its positive existence (in opposition to defect) in a higher degree than another; or a greater capacity and power, greater understanding, every faculty and every positive quality in a higher degree. An *arch-angel* must be supposed to have more existence, and to be every way further removed from *non-entity*, than a *worm*.¹⁶

Substitute *Fénelon* for the *arch-angel* and the *chambermaid* for the *worm*, and you have the Godwinian version.

The understanding, Godwin maintains, is the faculty which tells us that the life of Fénelon was really preferable to that of the maid, and justice is the principle that regulates conduct accordingly. For the maid to prefer herself to Fénelon would have been a breach of justice. Even though we suppose the chambermaid to be our wife, our mother, or our benefactor, justice should teach us to prefer that which was more valuable—the life of Fénelon—at the expense of the other. We are never justified in preferring our own individual benefactor merely because of his benevolence to us. It is the benevolent intention, not the external action, which deserves respect, and "the merit of this disposition is equal whether the benefit was conferred upon me or upon another." The only standard, therefore, by which to determine the treatment to be accorded any individual, regardless of the relationship in which he stands to us, is his "moral worth and his importance to the general weal." Gratitude is accordingly foreign to virtue and justice because it "would lead me to prefer one man to another from some other consideration than that of his superior usefulness or worth."

Godwin's reference at this point to Edwards as the initiator of the argument concerning gratitude led Samuel Parr to continue the discussion. In one of the many long notes to his Spital Sermon, he discusses, first, the merits of gratitude as a virtue, and, second, the relation between Edwards and Godwin.¹⁷ The question, he says, is not whether any social affection, e.g., gratitude, love of parents,

¹⁶ This principle is remotely related to A. O. Lovejoy's principle of gradation (*The Great Chain of Being*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 58).

¹⁷ John Johnstone (ed.), *The Works of Samuel Parr* (London, 1828), II, 487-497.

patriotism, may be carried to criminal extremes, or whether oblique views of selfishness may not weaken the feeling of gratitude. "The question is, whether simply, universally, in the presence or in the absence of any collateral considerations whatsoever, the 'sentiment of preference which I entertain towards another upon the ground of my having been the subject of his benefits be, or be not, a part either of justice or virtue.'" By means of lengthy quotations from Seneca, Hooker, and Adam Smith, Parr satisfies himself that gratitude is a virtue.

In discussing the relation between Edwards and Godwin, Parr gives an appraisal of the work of Edwards and his influence.

Mr. Edwards is a writer who exercises our minds, even where he does not satisfy them; who interests us, where he does not persuade; who instructs and improves us, where he does not ultimately convince; and as I know his authority to be very great, among a numerous and pious class of Christians, it is of some importance that his real opinions should be clearly understood. From his own words then, I will endeavour to show that, in his estimation, gratitude is, in many respects, not unconnected with justice: and that the virtue from which he distinguishes it, is essentially different from the virtue of which the author of *Political Justice* pronounces it to be no part.

In accomplishing the first of these aims, Parr gives Edwards's view of the secondary kind of beauty in justice and his admission that in gratitude there is exercise of some kind of moral sense, which is the beauty of justice. In the second, Parr shows that Edwards and Godwin "apply the same term virtue to subjects essentially different, and consequently that their notions of gratitude, as forming no part of virtue, have little or no resemblance." In other words, true virtue to Edwards is benevolence to being in general, but to Godwin it is merely the general good of man. Parr suggests that Godwin is guilty of doing what Hutcheson had accused infidels of doing with the works of Shaftesbury—searching into them for insinuations against Christianity. Parr then asks rhetorically whether Edwards would not feel a kindred feeling of indignation "if he had found the avowed advocates of infidelity misrepresenting, or at least misconceiving, his notion of true virtue; and misapplying the arguments which he urged in defence of it, to the discredit of that

gratitude which under certain circumstances, and with certain restrictions, he approved as part of justice itself."

The great nineteenth-century preacher against infidelity, Robert Hall, took less pains to separate the thought of Edwards and Godwin, but accepted Godwin's assertion of similarity at face value:

There is little doubt, from some parts of Mr. Godwin's work entitled *Political Justice* as well as from his early habits of reading, that he was indebted to Mr. Edwards for his principal arguments against the private affections: though, with a daring consistence, he has pursued his principles to an extreme from which that most excellent man would have revolted with horror.¹⁸

It is curious that this note should have come from Hall since it shows Hall to be linked to two streams of influence concerning private affections which are closely related in thought, but otherwise entirely separate. The Edwards-Godwin attempt to prove that gratitude and other private affections are not virtue ran parallel to the attempt on the part of a number of essayists and divines to prove that friendship and patriotism are not virtues and therefore not part of Christianity. This position was taken in answer to Shaftesbury, who had criticized Christianity for its failure to enjoin friendship and patriotism.¹⁹ A century-long controversy ensued in which Soame Jenyns agreed with Shaftesbury that friendship and patriotism are not found in Christianity, but denied that they should be admitted; and such writers as James Foster, John Leland, and James Beattie adopted the view, related to Edwards's, that friendship is less noble than Christian benevolence but that it is a part of it. Following in this tradition, Robert Hall devoted a large portion of a funeral sermon to explaining why the virtues of friendship and patriotism are not specifically enjoined in the gospel.²⁰ Apparently, he was unaware of the close relationship between his position here and the argument of Edwards and Godwin. The similarity was perceived, however, by the acute mind of William Hazlitt, who wrote concerning *Political Justice*:

To break the force of the vulgar objections and outcry that have been raised against the Modern Philosophy, as if it were a new and monstrous

¹⁸ "Modern Infidelity Considered," *The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall*, ed. Olinthus Gregory (London, 1832), I, 59.

¹⁹ John M. Robertson (ed.), *Characteristics* (London, 1900), I, 66-69.

²⁰ Hall, *op. cit.*, I, 371 ff.

birth in morals, it may be worth noticing, that volumes of sermons have been written to excuse the founder of Christianity for not including friendship and private affection among its golden rules, but rather excluding them.²¹

In addition to the above definite similarities between Edwards and Godwin, there are other general resemblances worth mentioning to round out this discussion. Both writers establish their systems of virtue on a single principle, Edwards's that nothing but the love of being in general is virtuous, and Godwin's that nothing but love of the happiness of the greatest number of intelligent beings is virtue. Both writers were criticized for attempting to narrow all conduct to a single principle, but the attempt was by no means unusual among eighteenth-century moralists. What draws Edwards and Godwin particularly close is their method of discrediting all other systems by their single principle. Edwards, as we have seen, denies that moral sense, conscience, natural affection, pity, gratitude, and other forces are virtues, and Godwin in effect does the same. Edwards and Godwin agree also that absolute virtue is beyond the powers of a human being, but the difference between Edwards's rigorism and Godwin's utilitarianism is shown in their attitude toward this admission. Godwin says that "since absolute virtue may be out of the power of a human being, it becomes us . . . to lay the greatest stress upon a virtuous disposition,"²² but Edwards is satisfied with proving that what we consider to be virtuous disposition is not virtue at all.

Oddly enough, although Edwards proves that a sense of justice is not virtuous, he at the same time states the very Godwinian principle that "most of the duties incumbent on us . . . will be found to partake of the nature of justice."²³ If this statement were shorn of its qualifying phrase and rendered categorical, it would almost serve as an epitome of Godwin's system.

The aspect of Edwards's thought most widely known both in

²¹ P. P. Howe (ed.), *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt* (London, 1932), XI, 20. The doctrine of universal benevolence, that conduct should be regulated with a view toward producing the greatest good to the greatest number even if this meant proscribing gratitude, friendship, and patriotism, excited more repugnance than any other Godwinian doctrine. See B. Sprague Allen, "The Reaction against William Godwin," *Modern Philology*, XVI, 236 (Sept., 1918).

²² Godwin, *Works*, I, 55.

²³ Edwards, *Works*, I, 129.

America and England is, of course, the-determinism in his *A Careful and Strict Inquiry into the Prevailing Notions of . . . Freedom of Will*. Godwin cites Edwards in the section of *Political Justice* devoted to refuting theories of free will, but the arguments were so familiar and accessible from so many sources that it is purposeless to speculate on how much of his argument for determinism Godwin derived exclusively from Edwards. That it was considerable we may infer from Godwin's citation of Edwards and from the esteem with which Englishmen regarded Edwards's essay a few years after its publication. In so far as Godwin is concerned, we may safely assume also that Edwards's theories of virtue were as influential as his theories of the will.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PRUFROCK AND RASKOLNIKOV AGAIN: A LETTER FROM ELIOT

JOHN C. POPE
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MR. T. S. ELIOT has supplied me with some important corrections for my article, "Prufrock and Raskolnikov," which appeared in *American Literature*, XVII, 213-230 (November, 1945). I was wrong in attributing the resemblances between "Prufrock" and *Crime and Punishment* to Mrs. Garnett's translation, and in supposing as a consequence that the poem had been composed (I rashly said "conceived") after October, 1914. The actual details are of such interest that I have secured Mr. Eliot's permission to quote his account in full, from a letter of March 8, 1946:

I have never read Mrs. Garnett's translation of *Crime and Punishment*. The poem of Prufrock was conceived some time in 1910. I think that when I went to Paris in the autumn of that year I had already written several fragments which were ultimately embodied in the poem, but I cannot at this distance remember which. I think that the passage beginning "I am not Prince Hamlet," a passage showing the influence of Laforgue, was one of these fragments which I took with me, but the poem was not completed until the summer of 1911. During the period of my stay in Paris, Dostoevsky was very much a subject of interest amongst literary people and it was my friend and tutor, Alain Fournier, who introduced me to this author.¹ Under his instigation, I read *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, and *The Brothers Karamazov* in the French translation during the course of that winter. These three novels made a very profound impression on me and I had read them all before *Prufrock* was completed, so I think you have established very conclusively the essentials of your case, and the only red herring that led you astray was that I could only have read *Crime and Punishment* in Mrs. Garnett's translation!

Conrad Aiken's statement of trying unsuccessfully to place *Prufrock* in London in 1914 is quite correct.² This would have been the spring

¹ For Alain Fournier's interest in Dostoevski between 1909 and 1911, see Jacques Rivière and Alain Fournier, *Correspondence, 1905-1914* (Paris: Éd. de la Nouvelle Revue Française, 1926-1928); IV, 84 f., 114, 128 f. ("Depuis Claudel, aucun livre ne m'a rapproché du christianisme comme *l'Idiot*"), and *passim*.

² *Harvard Advocate*, CXXV, 17 (December, 1938).

of 1914. I had had the poem by me, therefore, unpublished for three years. Indeed, as I remember it was only with great difficulty that Ezra Pound finally persuaded Miss Harriet Monroe to accept the poem for *Poetry Chicago*, in 1915.

So far as I know, the only French translation of *Crime and Punishment* available in 1911 was that by Victor Derély, first published in 1884 and often reprinted.⁸ In all essentials, this translation creates the same effect as Mrs. Garnett's, and possibly some passages would seem more pertinent to the poem, but I should warn the reader of my article that the verbal parallels on which I laid stress toward the end are considerably less persuasive in the French. For example, here are the two passages from Mrs. Garnett that I quoted on p. 227, and the corresponding passages in Derély:

"I know it all, I have thought it all over and over and whispered it all over to myself, lying there in the dark. . . . I've argued it all over with myself, every point of it, and I know it all, all! And how sick, how sick I was then of going over it all!" (Part V, Chapter IV)

"Je sais tout. Tout ce que tu pourrais me dire, je me suis dit mille fois, pendant que j'étais couché dans les ténèbres. . . . Que de luttes intérieures j'ai subies! Que tous ces rêves m'étaient insupportables et que j'aurais voulu m'en débarrasser à jamais!"

And was it worth while, after all that had happened, to contend with these new trivial difficulties? Was it worth while, for instance, to manoeuvre that Svidrigaïlov should not go to Porfiry's? Was it worth while to investigate, to ascertain the facts, to waste time over anyone like Svidrigaïlov?

Oh how sick he was of it all! (Part VI, Chapter III)

Après tant de combats déjà livrés, fallait-il encore engager une nouvelle lutte pour triompher de ces misérables difficultés? Était-ce la peine, par exemple, d'aller faire le siège de Svidrigaïloff, d'essayer de le circonvenir, dans la crainte qu'il ne se rendît chez le juge d'instruction?

Oh! que tout cela l'énervait!

⁸ Vladimir Boutchik, in his *Bibliographie des œuvres littéraires russes traduites en français* (Paris: Jean Flory, 1935-1936), I, 52, lists two undated translations, one by J. Férenczy, the other by M. Sémenoff, which I have been unable to trace, but I am almost certain that they belong to a later period. *The Idiot* was available only in Derély's translation (1887). *The Brothers Karamazov* had been translated by E. Halpérine-Kaminsky and Ch. Morice in 1888 and by J.-W. Bienstock and Ch. Torquet in 1906, both versions greatly but differently abridged. Eliot is more likely to have read the former, since it was published with the Derély versions of the other two novels by Plon-Nourrit et Compagnie.

The state of mind and the repetitive rhetoric are the same in both versions, but the French passages do not turn on the repetition of "Je sais tout" or of "Était-ce là peine" as do Prufrock's speeches on "I have known them all" and on "Would it have been worth while." I doubt whether, if I had been reading the novel in French, I should have noted at these points more than a vague relevance to the poem.

Fortunately, although Mr. Eliot's letter gives *Crime and Punishment* a somewhat less decisive position in the history of "Prufrock" than I was tempted to imagine, it testifies generously to the prominence of Dostoëvski in his mind during the period of composition. What is especially welcome is its authoritative account of the growth of an important poem. This account modifies very helpfully Mr. H. R. Williamson's statement (which I had overlooked) that the poem was composed in 1910,⁴ and reveals with what surprising rapidity it developed from the brief beginnings that can be observed in the poem "Spleen," first published in the *Harvard Advocate* for January, 1910.⁵

TWO LETTERS FROM LANIER TO HOLMES

CHARLES R. ANDERSON
Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY LANIER¹ and Oliver Wendell Holmes never met, but in 1880 they had a brief correspondence growing out of a mutual interest in prosody. In May, Lanier had published his *Science of English Verse* and sent out complimentary copies to a score of prominent authors. On July 24 Holmes wrote a letter of thanks, saying that he had not yet had time for a serious reading of this treatise but that he would have everything to learn from it since he knew "precious little of the technicalities of metrical construction"; he added that his only contribution to the subject was an article published some years before "on the relation of the length of verse to the natural rhythm of respiration."² Lanier's answer,

⁴ *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot* (London, 1932), p. 61.

⁵ Reprinted in the *Harvard Advocate*, CXXV, 16 (Dec., 1938).

¹ Lanier's letters to Holmes are in the Manuscript Room of the Library of Congress. Unavailable during the war, they could not be included in the *Centennial Edition of Sidney Lanier* (Baltimore, 1945). In lieu of them, two letters from Holmes to Lanier were printed there (July 24 and August 11, 1880—see X, 217-218, 222-223); the MSS of these and a brief unpublished note (August 20, 1880), are in the Lanier Room, Johns Hopkins University.

² "The Physiology of Versification," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XCII, 6-9 (Jan. 7, 1875), conveniently reprinted in the *Works* (Riverside Edition), VIII, 315 ff.

written from a farmhouse in Pennsylvania where he was recuperating from a severe illness, follows:

WEST CHESTER, PA.

Aug. 3, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR:

Some time ago I made a note of your interesting remark upon the relation between the octosyllabic line and the average respiratory rhythm, of which I happened to see a short account in a newspaper. I did not know—as your letter now informs me—that you had written a paper on this subject. I had expected to quote your observation in my *Science of English Verse*, and to discuss it at some length, as connected with a confirmation—or rather with an extension of its bearing—which had come within my own notice. This extension is: that the whole body of instrumental music—though of course such music is wholly independent, so far as stringed instruments are concerned, of those limitations of vocal music arising from the singer's need to take breath at intervals—is nevertheless found to be segregated into rhythmic divisions whose length varies only within just such limits as are determined by the breathing-places in ordinary songs. In other words, instrumental music is rhythmized as if the instruments—even the stringed ones—had to respire.

It may interest you if I mention two, out of several, important bearings of this fact when taken in connection with your own principle. One is: that, since these rhythmic divisions which we are in the habit of calling "lines" in *verse* prevail also in *music*, we are necessarily driven back to a common origin for this remarkable rhythmic determination of what would seem naturally the most *undetermined* and lawless of human feelings; and that common origin seems necessarily *the Song*. If now we widen the argument by taking in the fact that *prose* speech is determined into segregations more or less plainly rhythmical by the same limitations of breath-taking, which segregations must have been much more uniform when both syllables and emotions were less complex; we seem to find an explanation of the fact that poetry arises earlier than prose in all literatures; and if we go on to consider that the simple should precede the complex, and that poetry *is* rhythmically simple—so simple that its larger

Later Holmes is said to have praised Lanier's book highly (*Centennial Edition of Sidney Lanier*, X, 232 n.; *The Science of English Verse* is reprinted in Vol. II of this edition).

divisions are even automatic, being merely the respiratory rhythm—while prose is rhythmically complex in the highest degree; we are, I think, bound to conclude that men *sung* their most ordinary communications to each other long before they *prosed* them. Thus M. Jourdain's astonishment is not without grounds: for although he *had* been talking prose all his life, it would seem that the world has not, all *its* life.

The other remark is: that a proper application of *the Song* as type of all aesthetic uses of sound in verse as in music really sets at rest the whole question of "Programme Music" which has so bitterly divided the musical world for many years. The Song, in which every idea is accompanied by an appropriate tone or variation in pitch, is merely Programme Music carried to its utmost logical development; and such music, instead of being a modern invention as many have hastily supposed, is really the primal type of the whole art of sound. In my chapter on THE TUNES OF VERSE I have deduced some of the historic results of this view. I feel sure that when the fact of tune in ordinary speech—the fact that in all our every day talk we convey our meaning quite as much by tune as by articulate word—comes to be fully recognized, philology will find a new world for its investigations.

—As I say, I had expected to quote your observation in my book and to discuss it with some detail; but there seemed no chance of getting a publisher for such matter, and I was compelled to make the work a semi-popular treatise, at the expense of leaving out a great part of what was to me the most interesting material of all that I had collected for the book.

I cannot help adding—since my book has been so universally misconceived in this respect—that its object was *not* to teach people how to make verse.—God forbid! but to present a *scientific* account of all those curious phenomena connoted by the term "Verse" and to refer these to purely physical principles of classification. Almost every one has taken the work to be a collection of rules for making verses; but it is not this any more than a work on the Science of Geology would be a collection of rules for making rocks.

Your "Last Leaf" has indeed a charming movement, and I do not wonder that Poe praised it. Your verse shows always a fine feeling for rhythm. Besides this, I find in your work a quite notable

sense of the relations of tone-color in words. Many of your combinations in this particular, arranged as they are evidently by a pure instinct, give me great pleasure. There are persons, I find, who consider enjoyments of this kind finical; but I discover myself growing daily more and more rigorous in requiring the poet, if he use any forms at all which appeal to the sense, to use them so perfectly that his forms shall cast my sense into the same ecstasy that his conceptions cast my spirit.

I hope, in another edition of my book, to indulge myself with an appendix where I may discuss your rhythmic observation, along with other omitted matters. Meantime, where may I find the article to which you refer, for I have seen only a very unsatisfactory newspaper-account of it.

—Pray believe that it is not with malice prepense I have written such an unchristian letter. I began with the intention only of letting you know how important I think your filiation of the two great facts of human breath and poetic rhythm.

Very truly yours,
SIDNEY LANIER.

DR. O. W. HOLMES.

Holmes replied, August 11, 1880, that he would send a copy of his article as soon as he could lay hands on one, and again on August 20 saying that he was forwarding it. No answers have been found to either of these letters, nor did Lanier live to make a revised edition of his *Science of English Verse*.

In September Lanier returned to Baltimore, but he was still so ill that the resumption of his duties as lecturer at Johns Hopkins University had to be postponed until after Christmas. During his sick-bed reading he planned a course of lectures, never to be delivered, on "The English Satirists."³ Prompted by this, and using Holmes's recently published poem "The Iron Gate"⁴ as a point of departure, Lanier sent the following tribute to the Boston wit:

³ See his letter to Pres. D. C. Gilman, November 6, 1880 (*Centennial Edition*, X, 264). In the course actually given during the winter of 1881, entitled "The English Novel," there is a pleasant reference to Holmes (IV, 183).

⁴ Read by Holmes at the *Atlantic Monthly* dinner party honoring his seventieth birthday in December, 1879, it was published as the title piece of *The Iron Gate, and Other Poems* (Boston, 1880).

435 N. Calvert St.

BALTIMORE, MD.

Nov. 7, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR:

Some very pleasant meditations result to me from the contact of the title of your book and the genial thoughts within it. We know what a beggarly crack we have made between the edge and the jamb of the Iron Gate, with all humanity at the crowbar and with at least six thousand years to work in; but all the more does it seem to me that to make so pitiful a crevice yield such wide prospects and suggestive fragrances as your book does is a very pretty achievement, and one which is never accomplished save by the true and earnest poet.

I find indeed a very precious and firm quality amid all the airiness of your verses: in spite of their sudden bringings-to, and gyrations, of thought, they always manage somehow to remind us that there are depths below; as, when we watch a sea-gull coming about in the wind and wheeling hither and yonder, we do not need to look downwards in order to know that the Sea is beneath him. I think a time is lucky to have a man in it who can without flippancy make us smile over questions that made Hamlet fumble at his heart and his bodkin for a quietus.

I have had quite special occasion recently to contrast this quality in true and large Humor with its opposite in many notable English works of old renown. In excogitating a series of lectures I am to deliver at the University here on "The English Satirists," I have been brought fairly up against the fact that I have never read a Satire in my life without feeling uncomfortable when I had finished. I always find a bad taste left. No enjoyment of the cleverness, the stroke, the irresistible laugh, however great, avails to prevent this after-tang of discomfort. And now that the exigency of lecturing on these matters has led me to analyse what was before a merely vague sensation of mis-ease (I wish we could use that dear old word, since you doctors have appropriated "disease" to your horrible private purposes) I find that it arises from the lack of the very quality I have mentioned as inherent in all your verse that I have seen, the quality of somehow making us feel that though we *have* laughed at the Image of Things in the cracked mirror,

there is nevertheless a great and beautiful Figure of which this Image is but a partial representation. This reminder of a dignified Whole while immediately suggesting only an absurd or grotesque Part, this sending us off gentle Christians instead of smart duellists, appears to be the root of the matter. From the *Goliath* of Walter Map—if he wrote it—down through all the Hudibrases and Dunciads and Fables,—I can never read one without feeling that whatever additional contempt they may have bred in me for the villainies [*sic*] they satirize is after all but a heathen's contempt, and is all lacking in love and largeness and a proper relation to things.

I have examined this feeling, too, to see if there is not something a little morbid and nineteenth-centuryish about it. But I can not think so, with the most honest balancing of arguments. I'm not constitutionally averse to a square fight—"fair fist and skull" as my school-mates used to call it—when things have come to a point where some kind of clearance has *got* to be made; but in the Satire I have a sense that the Satirist has an unfair advantage; and though the fight here *is* against the devil, I do not want to take advantage, even of him; the devil himself is unfair and, heaven help us, he's the last creature *I* want to set up for a model; particularly now that he has turned out to be such a nobody.

Hoping, and believing, that there will be no solution of continuity between the fine faith with which you now stand outside the Iron Gate and the fine vision with which you will some day stand inside it, I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,
SIDNEY LANIER.

No answer to this letter has been found. Lanier died the following September; he was survived for more than a decade by the elder poet.⁵

⁵ The first letter to Holmes forms an interesting footnote to *The Science of English Verse*. The second is unique for its full exposition of Lanier's views on satire. The paucity of references in his published writings and letters to either the great satirists or their works (see Index to the *Centennial Edition*) indicates that for the most part he passed them by as uncongenial to his temperament and repugnant to his theory of literature. He may have done some small reading in this field during the last year of his life, but even in the prudish attack on the eighteenth-century novelists in his lectures of this winter (*ibid.*, IV, 152 ff.) his criticism is directed at what he calls their "naturalism" rather than at satire as a literary method. The basis of his attitude towards the satirist is, however, stated in an aside in the same series: "The great artist never can work in hate, never in malice, never in even the sub-acid, satiric mood of Thackeray; in love, and love only, can great work . . . be done" (IV, 176).

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM BY PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS
The University of South Carolina

AMONG THE MANUSCRIPT ITEMS in the South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina is a manuscript poem in Paul Hamilton Hayne's own autograph.¹ Written in pencil² on both sides of a single half sheet, it bears no title. Its theme is a conventionally poetic one, close kin to those of Hayne's published "The Realm of Rest," "Life and Death," and "Ode to Sleep."³

The revisions are particularly interesting. In some instances the poet definitely marked through one word, writing in another above or below. In others he wrote in a second word without crossing out the first, evidently intending to decide later between the two.

I⁴

How sweet it is to think of peace,
 Our travail
 When day-time's heavy toil is o'er,

 When the swift waves of action cease,
 tideless
 And ~~sink~~ on Lethe's shore :-
 sink waking
 Which state is fairest: ~~fevered~~ life,

 Or sleep, which bears our souls apart

 Deaf to earth's tumults & its strife,

 To ~~rest~~ on Nature's living heart?
 lean

¹ The MS was purchased from Dellquest's Rare Bookshop, Pasadena, California. In a letter of May 1, 1946, Mr. Wilfrid Dellquest states that it was probably among those purchased many years ago in Charleston. "The poems and fragments were mostly written in pencil upon the fly-leaves and end-papers of books that originally belonged to Dr. Middleton Michel, Hayne's brother-in-law. Dr. Michel's signature and book-label were in the volumes; also Hayne's signatures."

Certainly the type and quality of the paper would indicate that the half sheet was a fly leaf of a small octavo volume.

² The lines slant upward from left to right. Not always legible, the handwriting resembles that of Hayne's letters after 1870 more than it does those before that date.

³ *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne, Complete Edition* (Boston, 1882), pp. 6, 25, 154.

⁴ These divisions in Roman numerals appear in the MS. The irregular indentations of lines appear also in the original.

IV

O, Sleep that still foreshadowest^e death,
O, death that wak'st on Earth no more,
'Twin angels one of whom, in faith,
I humbly worship & adore ———— ,
Sleep rounds each weary day with rest,
And wafts us to a life new-born,
Death folds us to a colder breast,
But oh! the peace He brings
 with morn.

WALT WHITMAN AND TALIESSIN

ROBERT R. HUBACH
Illinois Institute of Technology

IN HIS *Journals* for 1866 Ralph Waldo Emerson suggests the influence of Taliessin upon the poetry of Whitman:

I suspect Walt Whitman had been reading these Welsh remains when he wrote his "Leaves of Grass." Thus Taliessin sings:

"I am water, I am a wren;
I am a workman, I am a star;
I am a serpent;
I am a cell, I am a chink;
I am a depository of song, I am a learned person."¹

Strangely enough, however, no biographer or scholar has studied Whitman's interest in Taliessin.

Numerous early jottings and notes show that Whitman was

⁶ Indecipherable stroke above the *ow* in this word.

² Edward W. Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (eds.), *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), X, 147.

familiar with Welsh literature in translation.² But since Taliessin's poems were not available to the reading public until 1858,³ his knowledge of this writer's work was probably limited before the first (1855) edition of *Leaves of Grass* to a prose-verse romance called "Hanes Taliesin" in the *Mabinogion*, a collection of Welsh tales of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, first translated into English by Lady Charlotte Guest in 1849.⁴ Although there are varying accounts of Taliessin's life, with myth and fable apparent in several of them, it is now generally believed that the Welsh poet actually existed during the sixth century and that the remains of his verse in the original Welsh are not fabrications of the Middle Ages.⁵

Both Whitman and Taliessin considered themselves prophet-poets and were regarded as such by their contemporaries.⁶ Both authors were also poetic innovators and scorned versifiers and imitators. The absence of rhyme, the line-length, rhythm, and parallelism of Whitman's poetry are strikingly like the free-verse sections in the English translation of the "Hanes Taliesin." The repetition and ubiquitous *I* in poems like "Song of Myself" should be compared with the following quotation from the Guest translation:

I am a wonder whose origin is not known.

I have been in Asia with Noah in the ark,
I have seen the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra;
I have been in India when Rome was built,

.

I have been teacher to all intelligences,
I am able to instruct the whole universe,
I shall be until the day of doom on the face of the earth. . . .⁷

Similar to this is the preceding Emerson citation, taken from the

² See Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel (eds.), *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), "Prose," VI, 53, 94, 95, 135, 187; VII, 39, 42, 48, 49, 54, 55.

³ See D. W. Nash (ed.), *Taliesin; or the Bards and Druids of Britain* (London: John Russell Smith, 1858).

⁴ See Lady Guest (ed.), *The Mabinogion, from the Llyfr coch o Hergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts, with an English Translation and Notes*. 3 vols. (London, 1849).

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 360-394; Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁶ Guest, *op. cit.*, p. 363; Richard M. Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1883), pp. 183-185.

⁷ Guest, *op. cit.*, p. 374; cf. p. 362.

1858 edition of Taliessin's works rather than from the *Mabinogion*.⁸

Even though the general subject-matter of *Leaves of Grass* differs perceptibly from that of the "Hanes Taliessin" story, the similarities previously indicated show a very possible indebtedness to the Guest translation which should be considered along with the Bible, Oriental verse, and other formative influences on Whitman's thought and literary technique.

⁸ Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1949 a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- The Didacticism of Winston Churchill. Frederic B. Irvin (Pittsburgh).
- The Life of Benjamin Coleman (1673-1747), Minister and Poet. Clayton H. Chapman (Boston University, School of Theology).
- Stephen Crane: A Critical Biography. Melvin H. Schoberlin (Johns Hopkins).
- Stephen Crane and the Beginnings of Realism in the American Novel. Georges Remords (Paris).
- Mollie E. Moore Davis: Her Circle and Its Place in the Literature of the South. C. W. Wilkinson (Illinois).
- Herman Melville and Primitivism of the Nineteenth Century. James R. Baird (Yale).
- The Life of Trumbull Stickney (1874-1904). Thomas Riggs, Jr. (Princeton).

II. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- The Aesthetic Theory of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vivian Constance Hopkins (Michigan, 1943).
- The Art of Stephen Crane. Jean Valerie Elizabeth Whitehead (Cornell, 1944).
- The Diplomatic Mission of John Lothrop Motley to Austria, 1861-1867. Sister Claire Lynch (Catholic University, History, 1945).
- Ernest Bloch and His Music. Henri Shaffer Minsky (Peabody, Music, 1945).
- The First American Decade: Detroit, 1796-1805. Frederick Clever Bald (Michigan, History, 1943).
- The Lapse of Uriel: A Study in the Evolution of Emerson's Thought. Stephen Emerson Whicher (Harvard, 1942).
- The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia: A Study in Social and Cultural History. Frederick B. Tolles (Harvard, American Civilization, 1946).
- The Religious Philosophy of William James. Charles Whitney Leslie (Harvard, Philosophy, 1945).
- Robert Lewis Dabney: Southern Presbyterian Apologist. Frank Bell Lewis (Duke, Religion, 1946).

A Study of the Speeches and Speech-Making of James Burrill Angell.
Evelyn Pearl Kenesson (Michigan, Speech, 1945).

III. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Professor Sculley Bradley (Pennsylvania) has two projects scheduled for publication: Walt Whitman's *Backward Glances*, a genetic and comparative study of "A Backward Glance o'er Travel'd Roads" and its contributory essays. In press at the University of Pennsylvania Press. Lowell's *Pioneer*, a facsimile edition of the January-March, 1843, numbers, with a study of contributors, etc. Announced for publication by Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, New York.

The Reverend Clayton Chapman, 4 Murray Avenue, Roxbury Station, Boston, Mass., is writing a biography of Benjamin Coleman (1673-1747) and would appreciate information about this poet and pastor of Brattle Square Church, particularly knowledge of his letters.

Professor Georges Remords of the University of Paris (New York address: International House, 500 Riverside Drive) desires to learn of unpublished documents pertaining to Stephen Crane or W. H. Hudson.

Professor Arlin Turner (Louisiana State University) is at work on a biography of George Washington Cable that will include a full study of his writings.

Professor Jay B. Hubbell (Duke University) is preparing a book on the early literary development of Edgar Allan Poe as poet, critic, and writer of tales.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LITTLE MAGAZINES: *A History and a Bibliography*. By Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. ix, 440 pp. \$3.75.

As the authors of the present work observe, the history of the little magazine in America properly begins with the *Dial* of Fuller and Emerson. Their own story, however, takes as a starting point 1912, when *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* began what proved to be a torrent of little magazine publications. Our authors do not ask what new conditions helped to create the new spirit in literature. They look neither behind nor about. Yet it would seem that their account of the little magazines might have profited by being juxtaposed with the historic "revolt" of the younger generation, of which it was an integral part. Indeed, such a treatment of their theme might have helped better to explain why the little magazines later developed as they did.

This work is much less a history of a movement than it is a series of essays relating to certain outstanding little magazines. To be sure, it also includes sections which discuss their general aims and characteristics, the influence of psychoanalysis, and other topics. But it should be noted that the authors' literary predilections clearly affect their treatment of basic questions, such as the definition of a little magazine; the value of the poems, stories, and criticism printed by the different organs; and their quality as contrasted with that of "commercial" enterprises. There is not space here to analyze opinions expressed in this study, certainly not in detail. The emphasis is, however, clearly upon the extreme segments of the *avant garde*, heavily (though not entirely, of course) upon all manner of experiment with words, clinical as against social literary criticism, poetry as against fiction. Hence, the modern *Dial* of 1916-1920 interests our authors less than does the *Dial* of later years, even though it happens that the younger generation prized the periodical of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, and others, as highly before the war as after. *Upton Sinclair's* does not impress our authors as being a little magazine at all—at least, they do not mention it—even though it contained literary news and opinion, was read by left-wing youth of the World War I period, and operated at a loss.

The point is that we have here a vast field for research and literary analysis, and it is well to avoid trying to settle moot questions out of hand. Our authors picture a literary scene consisting of a host of conservative periodicals, on one side, and, on the other, little magazines

which have stood "defiantly in the front ranks of the battle for a mature literature" "by first publishing . . . about 80 per cent of our most important post-1912 critics, novelists, poets, and story-tellers" (p. 1). This estimate, first offered by Mr. Allen in an article published by the *Sewanee Review* (Summer, 1943), is so conjectural as to be practically worthless; a glance at Mr. Allen's statistics, appended to his article, surely shows this. Even if it could be demonstrated that the American writers he selected for examination are outstanding and typical, there would still be the question of how important first publication was to their careers. Also, it is incorrect to assume, as our authors assert, that the little magazines were unusually generous in opening their pages to unknowns. A survey of this study's very valuable analytical bibliography of little magazines shows how common it was for writers appearing in one periodical to be represented in a dozen more. Too often a new magazine was launched not to express a novel idea, but merely to provide another avenue for publication.

Mr. Malcolm Cowley has argued that the 1920's produced a literature deeper and finer than any we have had since the era of Emerson, Hawthorne, and their peers; and certainly the little magazines share in whatever glory may be allotted to modern American authors. But as one reviews the names of the several thousand writers in question, one is reminded that it is by no means certain which of them rate the highest honors, or even that the best of them were closely associated with little magazines. The present authors believe Henry Miller to be "one of the interesting enigmas of our century" (p. 186). They display the virtues of the "new poetry," stripped of its *lo's* and *behold's*. But the very importance of the little magazines in this field makes desirable a statement of their limitations: obviously, Ezra Pound belongs to them more than does Edwin Arlington Robinson. Structural critics are praised without reservation or restraint, or, for that matter, discrimination, and our authors feel "no inclination to cavil" with Allen Tate, who, in writing of his *Fugitive* years, chose "'to disregard the claims of propriety and say quite plainly that, so far as I know, there was never so much talent, knowledge, and character accidentally brought together in one American place in our time'" (p. 124). Qualifying considerations may suggest themselves to other students of the subject.

Antioch College.

LOUIS FILLER.

LA LITTÉRATURE AMÉRICAINE. By Charles Cestre. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1945. 218 pp. 42 francs.

Now that undue deference to British opinion of American literature is a thing of the past, the growing interest of Continental critics in our

literature becomes a matter of note. The mature judgment of the retired Professor of American Civilization at the Sorbonne should command attention. But Charles Cestre's little book is informed rather than profound. It reflects the critical perspective of the elder generation of American scholars rather than that of the great French critics; more of Matthews, Parrington, Quinn, and Foerster than of Sainte-Beuve, Brunetière, or Anatole France. It is America speaking to France rather than France to America.

The basically French character of this "introduction à la littérature américaine" for French readers is apparent only in its reliance on the "genre" as a system of organization for historical facts. Cestre sees two tendencies at war in our literary history: that of romance and that of realism. With the excesses of both he has little sympathy, even in the cases of such French favorites as Cooper, Poe, Whitman, or Mark Twain. He prefers the "health" of Irving, Howells, or Edith Wharton to the violence of Melville, Dreiser, or Hemingway. In Emerson's and Robinson's blends of romance and realism he finds our highest achievement: themes born of American life but transformed by imagination into symbols of the life of the spirit. With Gallic detachment, he shapes the course of our literary history about this aesthetic ideal.

The result is not an unhappy one, even though it serves better for the treatment of those writers whose places have already been reserved for them in the literary hierarchy than as a measure of stature for recent writers. From Parrington and other political and social historians, Cestre has absorbed enough knowledge of American life and ideas to provide an autogenous background for his literary judgments. He does not overvalue Longfellow, and he gives Dreiser adequate historical treatment. Mark Twain he slights rather badly, but the analysis of Henry Adams, though superficial, is in good proportion. The intrinsic excellence of Stephen Crane is totally missed and that of Emily Dickinson scantily recognized; whereas Marion Crawford, Booth Tarkington, and Branch Cabell are perhaps allowed more than their rightful space. Too many recent writers are discussed for so rapid a survey, and critical perspective becomes increasingly murky as the twentieth century is approached. Of the generation following that of Sherwood Anderson and E. A. Robinson, he has almost no knowledge, and the book concludes with a rather confused review of "divers vents d'esprit," arranged according to literary types.

Since its purpose is merely to introduce American literature to French readers, this rapid review can therefore serve a useful end without serious distortion of either truth or values. It is reasonably accurate and its

judgments are mild. But for American readers it can be of little service. There is much work still to be done by the younger foreign students—of whom there are increasing numbers—in interpreting American history and literature both to their own peoples and to us.

University of Pennsylvania.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

JONATHAN DRAWS THE LONG BOW. By Richard M. Dorson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1946. viii, 274 pp. \$4.50.

There have been many books on New England life and literature, but this is the first modern, scholarly work on an important element of the region—its popular tales and legends. This is odd because, as Mr. Dorson proves, New England has long had a fertile soil for the growth of native legends. The custom of spinning yarns took root in New England's earliest days when men gathered to discuss the wonders of the visible and invisible world in their isolated wilderness, and it has continued with changes of subject and form right down to our own day.

The New England folk tale differs from that of the old world, for it does not expand into sober heroic legendry, full-grown saga, or myth. It is generally compressed into a pungent anecdote. Although New England has developed folk characters, such as the Yankee and the strong man, it has not even shaped the separate tales of these types into the kind of epic that has produced Paul Bunyan, Davy Crockett, and John Henry in other American regions. The plain New Englander seems to scorn the heroic and to be opposed to weaving romantic histories about any one man. He has left the Paul Reveres and Miles Standishes to literary men and turned to laugh at sharp, short tales about simpletons, scalawags, and fanatics; to tell hunting and fishing stories of fantastic exaggeration; or to recount brief local legends of specters and haunts. Just why the legendry of New England has developed in this way Mr. Dorson does not fully explain, except to note that "native humor sabotaged American epics."

What Mr. Dorson has done is to study for the first time the types of tales that have circulated in New England, particularly those to be found in print. He has included them in his book if they fulfil two out of three conditions: that their place of publication, locale, or main character be regional. These criteria have evidently been used rather loosely, for some of the stories are told about and in other regions of the United States where they seem equally at home.

To get his folk tales Mr. Dorson has ransacked their obscure resting places: town histories, early compilations like that by "Shepherd Tom" Hazard, jest books, almanacs, regional magazines, and that richest re-

pository of all, the pre-Civil War newspaper. He has come up with a fully illustrative collection of stories, even though quite a few of them seem pretty dull to the modern reader, indicating that the light story of one generation may well be the heavy story of another.

These writings Mr. Dorson has grouped in five categories: supernatural stories, Yankee yarns, tall tales, local legends, and literary folk tales. The shortest but the best of these is the section dealing with the Yankee both as a natively shrewd, scheming trickster and as a bewildered yokel. Just how he split into these two characters is not altogether clear. For some reason Mr. Dorson focuses solely on the mid-nineteenth century in this section and does not even include "Yankee Doodle," where one finds the simplicity, homely dialect, and cautiousness of the character developed in home-grown verses. The Yankee stories he prints are, on the whole, more interesting than those of the longest section, the one on local legends, which not only tends to repeat some of the material of the supernatural stories but is often pretty thin stuff in itself. In addition to salvaging much perishable material in his first four sections, Mr. Dorson makes a valuable contribution in his final chapter on New England poets and short story writers who have used folk materials. Here he discusses the works of writers from John G. C. Brainard down to the contemporary Robert P. Tristram Coffin and Walter Hard and shows the ways in which the arts of folk and literary narrative overlap.

Mr. Dorson's work is essentially a study of New England's folk tales, but through his ample illustrations he has also provided a well-selected anthology.

University of California.

JAMES D. HART.

SINGIN' YANKEES. By Philip D. Jordan. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1946. xiii, 305 pp. \$3.50.

The social history of American music is a relatively unexplored field. We have had biographies which have lavished upon the career of a Lowell Mason, a Stephen Foster, or an Ethelbert Nevin the loving care and plethora of personal detail which one might expect in the biography of a Bach, a Schubert, or a Debussy. And we have had books on American folk music which have told us more about the climate of opinion and taste in Greenwich Village or the Eastern conservatories than about the real grass roots of American art. But there has been a paucity of competent studies concerned with what Americans, particularly in the nineteenth century, actually sang and played and listened to. To make such a study, of course, it would be necessary to descend to the "dreary and barren wastes" of American popular taste. Yet the unexpectedly

rich findings of recent excursions into nineteenth-century architecture should yield encouragement, and a few articles like T. D. S. Bassett's "Minstrels, Musicians, and Melodeons" in a recent *New England Quarterly* (March, 1946) and the book here under review are hopeful signs of an awakening interest.

Something of the spurious folksiness of many books on popular balladry infects the style of this study of the singing Hutchinsons—four brothers and a sister from Milford, New Hampshire, who achieved a national reputation in the 1840's, partly in spite of but largely because of their addiction to reform. The book is presumably based upon voluminous letters and diaries of the Hutchinsons themselves, but one never knows just where the documentary evidence leaves off and Mr. Jordan's historical imagination fills in. (*Did* Judson, for example, really say to John anent the annexation of Texas: "Andy Jackson is all fer it. An' what Andy sez is good enough fer mel" [p. 103]?) The verses of many of the Hutchinsons' songs are given, but one looks in vain for any discussion of the music qua music—its origins, its relation to true folk music, its possible reflection of current European styles or currents of taste, and kindred problems. And the book is not innocent of factual errors: for example, Hicksite Friends were not the only Quakers who supported abolition, as is implied on page 95; and the name of the most famous phrenologist of the 1840's is not spelled *Comb* (p. 132).

In spite of these flaws, however, the book is fairly successful in portraying the music and the personalities of the Hutchinsons as significant integral parts of the complex of sentiments and ideas which typified American life in the yeasty forties. There was hardly a reform represented at the famous Chardon Street Convention that Asa, Jesse, Judson, John, and Abby Hutchinson, jointly or severally, did not champion in song. First and foremost they were abolitionists, but they also sang for temperance, arbitration, and women's rights and against tobacco; and they dabbled in spiritualism, phrenology, hydrotherapy, Grahamism, and Thomsonian medicine. To this extent the reporter on the Boston *Evening Transcript* who regarded the Hutchinsons as national bards, breathing out a new and authentic native music (p. 41) was correct. And in the light of evidence which Mr. Jordan adduces, one can agree with a writer for the *Ladies' Wreath* who intimated that by virtue of its "moral power" the music of the Hutchinsons was one of the most effective instrumentalities of reform (p. 145). If Mr. Jordan's book accomplished nothing else, it would serve to demonstrate that the cultural historian, if he is to see our culture whole, cannot slight the history of musical taste as it can be studied in such a phenomenon as the Hutchinson family.

Swarthmore College.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES.

THREE AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN ENGLAND: *James Russell Lowell, Henry Adams, Henry James*. By Robert Charles Le Clair. Philadelphia. 1945. vii, 223 pp. \$3.00.

In about two hundred pages, nearly half of which are given to Henry James and the rest divided almost evenly between Henry Adams and James Russell Lowell, Mr. Le Clair has set out to furnish a kind of descriptive analysis of the relationship between England and three remarkable Americans, each of whom had his own terms to make with the ancestral country. For the general reader this book is an agreeable guide, a record of the line of contact between these men and England. It rests upon available material generously quoted—letters, journals, and biographical commentary—and divulges no new information. As a task of chronological review it was well worth doing, and intelligently organized.

The record is so absorbing that, as Mr. Le Clair would probably be the first to agree, it justifies any amount of exciting speculation beyond the limits of his own treatment. His book gives the high lights but not the shadows, the mapping of the journey but not its endless divagations with their power for self-revelation.

Lowell's is the most transparent record, and so—in a sense—the least interesting though by no means the least admirable. He began with an impression of English conceit, caught from British trippers in Rome, and despite early friendship with such men as Thackeray, Clough, and Browning, he nourished a healthy suspicion of English opinion which was strengthened by the anti-Union hostility of the war years, and which found its mature expression in the famous "Condescension" essay of 1869. By the time of his third visit in 1872 his Yankee independence had earned dividends. The English liked a man who made his own terms (as late as 1877 James called him "morbidly Anglophobic"), and who was a good writer as well; and when at length Lowell was appointed Minister to England, he was their man wholly. But he was his own man first, and nothing was falsier than the charge of sycophancy delivered against Lowell chiefly by Irish sympathizers. Although it was fashionable not long ago to accuse Lowell of indifference to political and social ideas, it is clear from Mr. Le Clair's record that his sense of responsibility as the representative of the New World to the Old did not fail, and his important address on "Democracy," delivered in Birmingham on October 6, 1884, is still a great pronouncement.

When the record turns to Adams, it turns to a better prose, and to—if not a better—an immensely more sophisticated man. In the *Education* Adams avowed that like all Bostonians he was instinctively English, but

he responded to England's "passionate delights" with a certain distrust—catching the English tone, as he put it, though at heart more hostile than ever. His most absorbing intellectual exercise was his mordant observation of English statesmen dealing with the American Civil War, but much of his energy went into the whirl of London's smart society. The young Adams appeared definitely to have sought social success in London just as later he appeared to disdain the quality of social success attendant upon being a Harvard professor. He won this kind of success with little trouble, but at heart, he confessed, he was always alone—"without a house I care to go to, or a face I would ask to see." His seven years as his father's secretary in London—and the later visits in the seventies—were not to make him over or to change him in the least from the aloof cosmopolitanism to which, in him, the New England heritage had come. He turned back to America in 1870, "positively hungering" for his Washington life, having stored up much observation for his clever pen.

But James is the great one of these three, and his story is the great story, because for him England was the proving ground of the spirit—the place where, although again and again his prose kindled into rapturous recognition of a land prepared for him since childhood, he nevertheless remained essentially uncommitted, except to fulfil his artist's destiny as a writer of no country and no allegiance save to his subject. The old charge of infatuation for England, of failure because he was an expatriate, becomes paltry as we review the record. In one sense there was, of course, a struggle—an issue as to whether England or America would claim him as a resident, and its stages are explicit in the letters that passed between James and his brother William. James insisted that he had his eye on his native land, but by 1880 William was convinced that England was to be Henry's home, and so it proved. As for failure, the works are there to refute the charge; and when years later Henry James returned for the 1904 visit whose impressions went into *The American Scene*, it was clear that America had no critic more perceptive or more truly affectionate.

This book is a meritorious contribution in a field where exploration still invites the tactic of penetration in depth. It is meritable enough not to deserve the mishandling it has received in press: more than fifty misprints, and such blemishes as "incidently," "accidently," and "effect" for "affect," are nearly fifty too many.

Union College.

HAROLD BLODGETT.

THE USE OF COLOR IN LITERATURE: *A Survey of Research*. By Sigmund Skard. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1946. 127 pp. (Reprinted from *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XC, 163-249, July, 1946.)

Mr. Sigmund Skard, Professor of American Literature at the University of Oslo, who during the war spent several years in Washington, has written a valuable review of research on color in literature supplemented by an extensive bibliography of no less than 1,183 items. He has cast his net very widely over almost all Europe and has supplied sufficient background by listing technical research of psychologists on color theory, of linguists on color terms, of folklorists on color symbolism, etc. The one serious omission is the Slavic literatures. Particularly valuable is the attention paid to the problem of synesthesia, which by now has a large literature, and to such related topics as the feeling for landscape, the parallelisms of the arts, stylistics, the study of metaphor, etc. The little book goes far beyond a mere omnibus review: it gives an independent examination of the methods of research and surveys its results with so much critical sense that Mr. Skard's sketch amounts to an original contribution to his subject.

Mr. Skard is properly critical of cranky and fantastic methods, distrusts the mechanical formula, and sees all the difficulties of the problem. But he seems, possibly because of this, unable to make up his mind on some of the fundamental problems. He expects, it seems to me, far too much from psychology and overrates the possibility and need of reconstructing the actual psychological processes of an author. Though he discusses and recognizes the view that the use of color in literature is largely a question of linguistic and literary conventions, he does not draw the full consequences from this insight. He also accepts too readily the German labels for period classification. On occasion, his little history of color in literature becomes but a shadow-play of abstract "isms."

Work on American literature is, with a few exceptions, still scanty in these problems and, what is worse, antiquated in its method, mechanical or purely impressionist. Norman Foerster's *Nature in American Literature* (1923), though devoted to a more general problem, seems still the only broader study done with competence and sensibility. Little knowledge seems current of the great possibilities, the implications and ramifications of such studies. Such a strange assertion as Oscar Cargill's recent glorification of Poe as a great "innovator" who used synesthetic effects for the first time in literature (in "The Laggard Art of Criticism," in *Twentieth Century English*, ed. W. S. Knickerbocker, New York, 1946, p. 325) can be refuted by a glance at Mr. Skard's book and almost

any item in his bibliography on synesthesia. Mr. Skard's survey is a model of what is needed in the whole area of literary studies: a thoroughly informed discussion of methodological problems which would ignore artificial political and linguistic barriers and bring new viewpoints and methods within the sight of the student. He needs not only facts but questions and problems.

Yale University.

RENÉ WELLEK.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE THE CLASSES 1722-1725 with *Bibliographical and Other Notes* (*Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Vol. VII). By Clifford K. Shipton. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1945. x, 706 pp. \$5.00.

There is little to say about this fourth volume since 1933 of Mr. Shipton's continuation of John Langdon Sibley's ambitious biographical compilation, except that it upholds the standards already set by earlier volumes in being completely and excellently useful. One wishes Mr. Shipton long life and abundant health as he continues his advance into the eighteenth century, where he will find—as is demonstrated by the fact that only four classes are sketched in the present volume as against ten in the slightly smaller volume which preceded it—the going slower, but, we hope, will also find compensation in the increasing interest of his sketches. We like his energy, his candor, and the sense of historical rectitude which allows him to state (p. 4) as he warns us of an inevitable anti-New-Light religious bias which finds its way into some of the sketches:

It seems best . . . to let these early Harvard men describe their own times whenever possible. Where editorial explanation has seemed necessary, every effort has been made to avoid passing judgments on questions of religion or politics. In such matters history can recognize no right or wrong. On the other hand, a thief is a thief and a hypocrite is a hypocrite in any generation, and the biographer is in duty bound to call attention to such failings . . . even though so doing is of itself passing a judgment.

There are, on the whole, however, fewer thieves and hypocrites sketched in this volume than an outlander might wish to find. Joseph Bourne (1722), who seems withal to have meant well, came rather ambiguously "to the notice of the local justice by conduct counter to the determined campaign of the province to preserve the remnants of the red men by keeping liquors from them" (p. 9). Byfield Lyde (1723) married above his station for money and is written off as a "professional office-seeker," and he had a classmate with the interesting name of Bezaleel Toppan, whose apothecary thought him "the Greatest Rogue on Earth" (p. 127). Taken all in all, the record of these classes is rather good. Zabdiel Boylston (1724) was fond of staying "an Unreasonable

time of Night" in taverns (p. 317), but Samuel Coolidge, of the same class, outdid him by turning up intoxicated for commencement, so that he had to be "dragged out on the Ground by a Negro like a Dead Dogg" (p. 328). One is impressed with the number, good and bad, who like Coolidge turned to schoolteaching rather than the ministry. And the number who turned lawyer, like Paine Wingate (1725), who found that, though "college larnt," there were many in New Hampshire who could beat him "in and out on the law" (p. 288). Of clergymen there are, of course, a goodly number. We like "Good Mr. [Samuel] Dunbar" (1723), who "burned more midnight oil and . . . composed more sermons (something over 8,000) than any of his contemporaries" (p. 169), who wasted no words in excoriation of rum and fornication, and who in 1774, having swallowed "hook, line, sinker, and fishpole, the propaganda of the Revolutionary agitators," prayed "the most extraordinary liberty-prayer" one of his listeners had ever heard (p. 173). It is good also to learn more of the legendary Reverend Jonathan Frye (1723), who because he was a chaplain could not in conscience use his gun at Pigwacket, but who "resorted to prayer and encouraged his companions by loud petitions for divine aid" (p. 177).

There were interesting men at Harvard in those days, of solid accomplishment and sometimes with literary ambitions which they never quite fulfilled. Such was Thomas Kilby (1723), and such, too, the "learned" Samuel Mather (1723), heir apparent to the great Massachusetts dynasty, who claimed to have inherited from his father "the venomous Itch for Scribbling," and who wrote essays and verse and many other things besides. Outdistancing these two by far was the "famous" Mather Byles (1725), to whom some thirty pages are devoted, in biographical sketch and bibliography, pages to which students of American literature will often turn with gratitude. There is new material here, and old material reinterpreted. Neither the classroom lecturer nor the literary historian will find elsewhere more significant information better presented on this extraordinary man.

Duke University.

LEWIS LEARY.

BRIEF MENTION

THE AMERICAN SCENE: *Together with Three Essays from "Portraits of Places."* By Henry James. Edited with an Introduction by W. H. Auden. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1946. xxx, 501 pp. \$5.00.

The slightly fuller English edition of *The American Scene* has been followed in this reprint, and the sketches from *Portraits of Places* which have been added are "Saratoga," "Newport," and "Niagara." The preface to the New York edition of *The American Scene* and a few illustrations of buildings and scenes mentioned by James are included in the volume. While the Introduction is of interest to students of Mr. Auden, it provides nothing of consequence upon James.

C. G.

THE COMPLETE POEMS AND STORIES OF EDGAR ALLAN POE: *With Selections from His Critical Writings.* With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes by Arthur Hobson Quinn. Texts Established, with Bibliographical Notes, by Edward H. O'Neill. Illustrated by E. McKnight Kauffer. Two Volumes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. x, 1092 pp. \$10.00.

No handsomer set of Poe's works has ever been offered to the general reader, for whom primarily these volumes are published. The editors, however, are justified in their hope that the book "will also be of interest to the student of Poe who wishes the correct text and certain biographical and bibliographical information." They have taken pains to print their text from the best sources, preferably from Poe's manuscripts except where there is a later and more authoritative text. The poems include two—"Elizabeth" and "Serenade"—which appear in few earlier editions. In addition to the sixty-eight tales, they have included *Arthur Gordon Pym*, and they have given about two hundred pages to Poe's critical writings. The Bibliographical Notes list the different appearances of each item during Poe's lifetime and indicate the source from which the text is taken. Professor Quinn's Introduction gives an admirable compact summary of Poe's life.

POE AS A LITERARY CRITIC. By John Esten Cooke. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by N. Bryllion Fagin. A Publication of the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1946. x, 15 pp. \$1.00.

Cooke's essay—apparently an early one which he later revised but for some reason never published—is now printed for the first time from the

manuscript in the collection of Mr. William H. Koester. Cooke always wrote with charm, but he regarded Poe's book reviews as "some of the fiercest, most savage, and most unfair literary criticism ever published in America." The chief value of the essay is found in Cooke's description of Poe and his account of the lecture on "The Poetic Principle" which Poe delivered in Richmond in 1849. Mr. Fagin has supplied an appropriate brief introduction, but he has overlooked various materials which might well have been mentioned. In her life of Poe (II, 1441-1442) Miss Mary E. Phillips in 1926 printed a portion of a letter (August 22, 1849) in which Cooke commented on this lecture. That letter was addressed to Philip Pendleton Cooke, who was a far better critic of Poe. Mr. Fagin does not mention the older brother, nor does he mention John R. Thompson, the editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* and an intimate friend of the younger Cooke. Thompson, whose view of Poe is well known, knew the poet only in his last sad years, and he apparently accepted Griswold's characterization at face value. Mr. Fagin takes no account of the probable influence of Thompson on Cooke's conception of Poe. He does not mention the savage attack on Poe which the *Messenger* in April, 1854, reprinted from the *London Critic*. The introduction to this article was probably written by Cooke, who was apparently acting as editor so that Thompson might have a much-needed vacation.

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Volume III, 1853-1893. James Truslow Adams, *Editor-in-Chief*; R. V. Coleman, *Managing Editor*; Atkinson Dymock, *Art Director*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1946.] xii, 435 pp. \$7.50.

This volume maintains the high standard set in the two preceding volumes. For the forty-year period ending in 1893, the editors had available more and better materials than they had for the first two volumes, and they have made an excellent selection of pictorial materials.

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS: *Humorist of the Nineties. The Story of an American Editor—Author—Lecturer and His Associations*. By Francis Hyde Bangs. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. viii, 300, xv pp. \$3.00.

Our attention has been called to the failure of *American Literature* to notice this book when it appeared five years ago. (The editors make every effort to get review copies of all important books in the field, but they do not always succeed.) Mr. Bangs's life of his father has none of the shortcomings that one looks for in biographies written by members of the author's family. It is one of the best biographies of American writers written in recent years. It is well-proportioned, admirably written, and concise. It illuminates the humorist's work as writer, editor, and lec-

turer; and it throws sidelights upon such other writers as Howells, Kipling, Mark Twain, Bill Nye, Brander Matthews, and Oliver Herford.

THE PORTABLE EMERSON. Selected and arranged with an Introduction and Notes by Mark Van Doren. New York: The Viking Press. 1946. vi, 664 pp. \$2.00.

The Portable series permits an editor to include a large amount of material, and Mr. Van Doren has succeeded in getting into a single compact volume the best of Emerson's poems, essays, and lectures, nine letters, and the *Journals* for the year 1856. The Introduction is admirable.

THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF JOHN AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited and with an Introduction by Adrienne Koch and William Peden. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. xl, 413, xxix pp. \$4.50.

A carefully edited volume of selections which emphasizes the close relations between father and son and illustrates their changing views of government and politics. Although John Quincy Adams at one time would have preferred a literary career to political life, his writings—especially his letters—suffer somewhat from comparison with those of his father. There is an excellent index.

THE POCKET BOOK OF ROBERT FROST'S POEMS. With an Introduction and Commentary by Louis Untermeyer. New York: Pocket Books, Inc. [1946.] 262 pp. 25 cents.

In 1943 Henry Holt and Company published a volume of selections from Frost entitled *Come In*. In the Pocket Books edition Mr. Untermeyer has added thirty additional poems and considerably expanded his commentary.

SELECTED WRITINGS OF GERTRUDE STEIN. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by Carl Van Vechten. New York: Random House. [1946.] xvi, 622 pp. \$3.50.

The selections include *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, essays on Cézanne, Matisse, and Picasso, and other materials illustrating almost every type of writing, early and late, which Gertrude Stein published. Mr. Van Vechten's choice of selections is excellent, but his brief Introduction could have been profitably expanded to twice or three times its length.

THE PSYCHIATRIC NOVELS OF OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES: *Abridgment Introduction and Psychiatric Annotations*. By Clarence P. Oberndorf, M.D. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. x, 274 pp. \$3.00.

In this edition Dr. Oberndorf has corrected certain errors pointed out by his correspondents and has clarified and expanded some of his notes.

HOLMES-POLLOCK LETTERS: *The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock 1874-1932*. Edited by Mark DeWolfe Howe. With an Introduction by John Gorham Palfrey. Two Volumes in One. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1946. xxii, 275, 359 pp. \$5.00.

The seventh printing of a book which first appeared five years ago now appears in a convenient one-volume edition. The best of these letters—particularly those in which the two distinguished legal scholars discuss the books they have read—are not unworthy of comparison with those which passed between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.

THE COLLEGE TEACHING OF ENGLISH: *A Bibliography 1941-1944*. Edited by Edna Hays. Pamphlet Publication Number 8 of the National Council of Teachers of English. Chicago. [1946.] 64 pp. 50 cents.

An excellent annotated list of articles, books, and pamphlets "dealing with aims and teaching procedures" which is to be followed by a bibliography of college texts and eventually by annual bibliographies. A large proportion of the articles listed are the work of successful teachers and scholars of distinction. Whatever may have been the situation a decade ago, today some of the ablest men and women in the profession now express their mature opinions on educational topics.

1828 CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA. Reproduced in Facsimile with an Introduction by William Harwood Peden. University of Virginia Bibliographical Series Number Six. Charlottesville: Printed for the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. vi, 111 pp.

Most of the books in the Library in 1828 had been selected by Thomas Jefferson, and the arrangement in the *Catalogue* is also largely his. His classification was based upon subject matter and derived mainly from Bacon's threefold system of Memory, Reason, and Imagination. In reading the list of titles, one is impressed anew with the wide range of Jefferson's intellectual interests.

GUMBO YA-YA: *A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales*. Compiled by Lyle Saxon, *State Director*; Edward Dreyer, *Asst. State Director*; Robert Tallant, *Special Writer*. Material Gathered by Workers of the Works Progress Administration, Louisiana Writers' Project. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. [1946.] xiv, 581 pp. \$5.00.

Most of the stories are not strictly folk tales, but they are nonetheless valuable.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (San Diego State College), John H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College).

Items for the check list to be published in the March, 1947, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the Chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

[BARLOW, JOEL] Leary, Lewis. "Thomas Day on American Poetry: 1786." *MLN*, LXI, 464-466 (Nov., 1946).

Dr. Richard Price's refusal to aid Barlow in publishing an English edition of *The Vision of Columbus* seems due in part to the counsel of Thomas Day.

[DUNLAP, WILLIAM] Benson, A. B. "The Sources of William Dunlap's *Ella, a Norwegian Tale*." *Scand. Stud.*, XIX, 136-143 (Nov., 1946).

Dunlap had read an English translation of Abbé Vertot's *Histoire des révolutions de Suède* (1695).

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Wright, L. B. "Franklin's Legacy to the Gilded Age." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXII, 268-279 (March, 1946).

Franklin was the link which joined the industrial and commercial spirit of the late nineteenth century with the ideas of the distant past when English commerce began its modern expansion.

[FRANKLIN, WILLIAM] Knollenberg, Bernhard. "Three Letters of William Franklin." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, XXI, 18-27 (Oct., 1946).

Three letters, dated December 28, 1759, June 16 and August 26, 1760, to William Smith Mason.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Marsh, Philip. "From 'Ezekiah Salem' to 'Robert Slender,' the Pseudonymic Creations of Peter Zenger and Philip Freneau." *MLN*, LXI, 447-451 (Nov., 1946).

"It is a lively possibility that Philip Freneau borrowed the pseudonym 'Hezekiah Salem' . . . from John Peter Zenger."

———. "Philip Freneau to Peter Freneau." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, X, 28-30 (Dec., 1946).

Prints a letter of March 1, 180[1].

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Schick, J. S. "Poe and Jefferson." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LIV, 316-320 (Oct., 1946).

". . . it would seem likely that Jefferson served as one of Poe's models . . . in the evolution of his literary technique."

Bevan, E. R. "Thomas Jefferson in Annapolis." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLI, 115-124 (June, 1946).

Kimball, M. G. "Thomas Jefferson's Rhine Journey." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XIII, 4-8 (Oct., 1946).

[PAINE, THOMAS] Meng, J. J. "Thomas Paine, French Propagandist in the United States." *Rec. Am. Catholic Hist. Soc. Phila.*, LVII, 1-21 (March, 1946).

[PENN, WILLIAM] Cadbury, H. J. "Intercepted Correspondence of William Penn, 1670." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXX, 349-372 (Oct., 1946).

Letters discovered in the Public Records Office, London.

[WASHINGTON, GEORGE] Frey, G. R. "George Washington in German Fiction." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XII, 25-26, 37 (June, 1946).

Washington appears as a character in German fiction as early as 1795, but is not really impressive until Walter Bloem's *Sohn seines Landes* (1928) and *Held seines Landes* (1929).

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Peattie, D. C. "Roger Williams—First Modern American." *Reader's Dig.*, XLIX, 65-69 (Dec., 1946).

Swan, B. F. "Roger Williams and the Insane." *R. I. Hist.*, V, 65-70 (July, 1946).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Hallenbeck, C. T. "A Colonial Reading List." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LVI, 289-340 (Oct., 1932).

Jones, H. M. "The Literature of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century." *Memoirs Am. Acad. Arts and Sci.* (1946), pp. 3-47.

An extensive survey which turns up some new information.

Seeber, E. D. "Chief Logan's Speech in France." *MLN*, LXI, 412-416 (May, 1946).

II. 1800-1870

[BROWN, C. B.] Morris, Mabel. "Charles Brockden Brown and the American Indian." *AL*, XVIII, 244-247 (Nov., 1946).

Brown, though he did not gloss over the Indian's savagery and

cruelty, was deeply interested in his "natural rights," and through his writings paved the way for better understanding of the Indian and his problems.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Oliver, E. S. "Emerson's 'Days.'" *NEQ*, XIX, 518-524 (Dec., 1946).

"Emerson yielded himself to the perfect whole" in the poetic achievement of "Days," his best poem.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Haselmayer, L. A. "Hawthorne and the Cenci." *Neophilologus*, XVII, 59-64 (1941).

Hayford, Harrison. "Hawthorne, Melville, and the Sea." *NEQ*, XIX, 435-452 (Dec., 1946).

Hawthorne may have been attracted to Melville partly because of his own interest in things of the sea.

Pryce-Jones, Allan. "Hawthorne in England." *Life and Letters*, L, 71-80 (Aug., 1946).

An account of "the American watching the English at war" drawn from Hawthorne's *English Notebooks*.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Arms, George. "To Fix the Image All Unveiled and Warm." *NEQ*, XIX, 534-537 (Dec., 1946).

The discovery of an additional source of "The Two Streams" enables readers to understand "a sense of perverse complexity" not altogether unusual in Holmes, an admirer of metaphysical poetry.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Kirk, Rudolf and Clara. "Letters of Washington Irving." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, X, 20-27 (Dec., 1946).

The last installment of a series, presenting letters written during Irving's first trip abroad.

Le Fevre, Louis. "Paul Bunyan and Rip Van Winkle." *Yale Rev.*, XXXVI, 66-76 (Sept., 1946).

Paul Bunyan, the epic hero who gets things done, and Rip Van Winkle, the folk hero manifesting revolt against orthodox virtues, symbolize contrasting values which have persisted in American life and literature.

Wilson, J. L. "Washington Irving's 'Celebrated English Poet.'" *AL*, XVIII, 247-249 (Nov., 1946).

An identification of the poet mentioned in "Philip of Pokanoket" as Robert Southey, who did use Philip in one of the works left incomplete at his death, though not as a major character.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Hecht, David. "Lavrov and Longfellow." *Russian Rev.*, V, 90-96 (Spring, 1946).

Peter Lavrov (1823-1900) in his criticism of Longfellow and other American writers reflects "the continuing awareness of America in the thought of the nineteenth-century Russian radicals."

———. "Longfellow in Russia." *NEQ*, XIX, 531-534 (Dec., 1946).

A naïvely pathetic letter of appreciation of Longfellow's verses from a group of Russians in Vladivostok, Siberia, dated January 17, 1932.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Sedgwick, Ellery. "Lowells, Inc." *SRL*, XXIX, 5-6, 37-38 (Sept. 21, 1946).

Personal recollections and anecdotes of the Lowells.

[MARSH, G. P.] Kliger, Samuel. "George Perkins Marsh and the Gothic Tradition in America." *NEQ*, XIX, 524-531 (Dec., 1946).

Marsh's "Gothicism" attempted to strike a balance between pride in America's Anglo-Saxon heritage and a feeling that America had a destiny of her own.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Giovannini, G. "Melville's *Moby Dick*." *Expl.*, V, 7 (Oct., 1946).

Further explanation of Melville's "the ball of free will" in Chapter XLVII.

Hayford, Harrison. See HAWTHORNE above.

Oliver, E. S. "Melville's Picture of Emerson and Thoreau in *The Confidence Man*." *Coll. Eng.*, VIII, 61-72 (Nov., 1946).

Melville's satirical treatment of Emerson and Thoreau, as Mark Winsome and his disciple, Egbert, underscores the warmth, humor, and manly practicalness of his thinking.

[POE, E. A.] Schick, J. S. See JEFFERSON above.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Hoeltje, H. H. "Thoreau as Lecturer." *NEQ*, XIX, 485-494 (Dec., 1946).

That Thoreau was not a good lecturer is by no means certain. He cultivated a narrower field than did Emerson; he also lacked Emerson's "grand manner" on the platform. If he was never popular, it was because his subjects were "rather transcendental and aesthetic."

Hyman, S. T. "Henry Thoreau in Our Time." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 137-146 (Nov., 1946).

Thoreau teaches us that the artist is as strong and serviceable in the earnest practice of his art as he is weak and faintly comic in direct political action.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Taylor, C. M. "Whittier vs. Garrison." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXXII, 249-278 (July, 1946).

Though both Garrison and Whittier exerted great influence in antislavery agitation, the latter's share in the movement was less egotistical and better "bears the scrutiny of modern, more educated mind."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Bigelow, D. N. "A Journal of 'Unquestionable' Loyalty." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXVII, 444-457 (Oct., 1946).

Origin of the *Army and Navy Journal*, 1863, first edited by William Conant Church, and a brief account of the attitude of the press toward the Civil War and of service papers published at that time.
Ellison, R. C. "Newspaper Publishing in Frontier Alabama." *Journ. Quar.*, XXIII, 289-301 (Sept., 1946).

An account of early newspapers, editors, and labor and communication difficulties from 1811 to the Civil War.

Raschen, J. F. L. "American German Journalism a Century Ago." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XII, 13-15 (June, 1946).

Read, Herbert. "De Tocqueville on Art in America." *Adelphi*, XXIII, 9-12 (Oct.-Dec., 1946).

Weiss, H. B. "Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts in America." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, L, 539-549, 634-641 (July, Aug., 1946).

A preliminary check list of tracts published from 1797 to 1826.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Quinlivan, Frances. "Irregularities of the Mental Mirror." *Catholic World*, CLXIII, 58-65 (April, 1946).

The failure of Henry Adams to understand the Middle Ages.

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] Fadiman, Clifton. "Portrait of a Misanthrope." *SRL*, XXIX, 11-13, 61-62 (Oct. 12, 1946).

"Limited, wrong-headed, unbalanced," but nonetheless a writer whose mood of pessimism makes him one of the oracles of our time.

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Brownell, G. H. "Two Hitherto Unknown Twain Tales Found in New York Tribune." *Twainian*, V, 1-2 (Nov.-Dec., 1946).

The tales are "Concerning General Grant's Intentions," printed December 12, 1868, and "Information Wanted," December 18, 1867.

Jones, Joseph. "The 'Duke's' Tooth-Powder Racket: A Note on *Huckleberry Finn*." *MLN*, LXI, 468-469 (Nov., 1946).

Evidence of the existence and extent of the ruse is found in an editorial from the *New York Weekly*, August 24, 1871.

Hoben, J. B. "Mark Twain's *Connecticut Yankee*: A Genetic Study." *AL*, XVIII, 197-218 (Nov., 1946).

Matthew Arnold's indictment of American cultural mediocrity helped provide the inner drive in Mark Twain's development of what had begun as a burlesque on knight-errantry into the story of a "robust Yankee who ironically attempts to lift the British out of their slough of medievalism."

Leisy, E. E. "The Quintus Curtius Snodgrass Letters in the New Orleans Daily Crescent." *Twainian*, V, 1-2 (Sept.-Oct., 1946).

Loomis, C. G. "Dan De Quille's Mark Twain." *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XV, 336-347 (Sept., 1946).

An account of the associations of William Wright and Mark Twain, especially between 1863 and 1878.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Weber, C. J. "Two Notes from Emily Dickinson." *Colby Coll. Quar.*, XV, 239-240 (June, 1946).

West, R. B. "Emily's Forest." *Rocky Mountain Rev.*, V, 1 (Spring-Summer, 1941).

Examines the possibility of a Freudian interpretation of Emily Dickinson's use of small creatures.

[FIELD, EUGENE] Flanagan, J. T. "Eugene Field after Fifty Years." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XI, 167-172 (Spring, 1945).

[HARRIS, J. C.] English, T. H. "Joel Chandler Harris's Earliest Literary Project." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, II, 176-185 (Oct., 1946).

In 1866 Harris planned an anthology which he wanted to call *Littérateurs of the South*.

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Arms, George. "'Ever Devotedly Yours': The Whitlock-Howells Correspondence." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, X, 1-19 (Dec., 1946).

Recounts the friendship between Brand Whitlock and the novelist with the help of fifteen manuscript letters in the Rutgers University Library.

—, and Gibson, W. M. "A Bibliography of William Dean Howells." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, L, 675-698, 857-868 (Sept., Nov., 1946).

A check list of works and partial works, and of newspapers, periodicals, and "Departments," with collations.

[JAMES, HENRY] Anderson, Quentin. "Henry James and the New Jerusalem." *Kenyon Rev.*, VIII, 515-566 (Autumn, 1946).

To read James in the light of his father's principled attitude toward men and affairs clears up many ambiguities.

Brown, E. K. "Two Formulas for Fiction." *Coll. Eng.*, VIII, 7-17 (Oct., 1946).

When H. G. Wells attacks James's novels as overunified, he is presenting a counterattack on behalf of his own conception of the novel as a ragbag for presentation of the author's experiences and ideas.

Hoxie, E. F. "Mrs. Grundy Adopts Daisy Miller." *NEQ*, XIX, 474-484 (Dec., 1946).

Self-appointed authorities on etiquette exhibited Daisy Miller as an example of what American girls should not be and do.

Roberts, Morris. "Henry James and the Art of Foreshortening." *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, XXII, 207-214 (July, 1946).

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 355

- [LANIER, SIDNEY] Whicher, G. F. "Lanier: Inheritor of Unfulfilled Fame." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books*, XXIII, 1-2 (Aug. 25, 1946).
- . "Sidney Lanier's Letters." *Forum*, CIV, 354-358 (Oct., 1946).
- [MAJOR, CHARLES] Hepburn, W. M. "The Charles Major Manuscripts in the Purdue University Libraries." *Indiana Quar. for Bookmen*, II, 71-81 (July, 1946).
- [PEIRCE, C. S.] Wiener, P. P. "Peirce's Metaphysical Club and the Genesis of Pragmatism." *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, VII, 218-233 (April, 1946).
- [RUSSELL, IRWIN] Harrell, L. D. S. "A Bibliography of Irwin Russell." *Jour. Miss. Hist.*, VIII, 3-23 (Jan., 1946).
- [SCUDDER, HORACE] Hersholt, Jean. "The Two Never Met." *SRL*, XXIX, 18-19 (Dec. 21, 1946).
- [TAYLOR, BAYARD] Prahl, A. J. "Bayard Taylor's Letters from Russia." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, IX, 411-418 (Aug., 1946).
- Five unpublished letters of 1862 and 1863.
- [WHITMAN, WALT] Arms, G. W. "Whitman's *To a Locomotive in Winter*." *Expl.*, V, 14 (Nov., 1946).
- Hackman, Martha. See JEFFERS below.
- White, C. Y. "A Whitman Ornithology." *Cassinia*, XXV, 12-22 (1945).
- Whitman "saw birds not as species each with a peculiar mark denoting its place in the order of things, but as momentarily arresting manifestations of the mystery of nature."
- [WRIGHT, CHAUNCEY] Blau, J. L. "Chauncey Wright: Radical Empiricist." *NEQ*, XIX, 495-517 (Dec., 1946).
- Diverse thinkers such as Fiske, Peirce, and James found stimulation in Wright's analysis of the question of moral sanction and the obligations of property.
- [MISCELLANEOUS] Briggs, H. E. and E. B. "The Early Theatre in Chicago." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIX, 165-178 (June, 1946).
- The Chicago theater, like the city itself, started late but grew rapidly in its early years.
- Lamont, T. W. "Journalism in the Nineties." *SRL*, XXIX, 13-15 (Sept. 22, 1946).

IV. 1900-1946

- [ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Kliger, Samuel. "Hebraic Lore in Maxwell Anderson's *Winterset*." *AL*, XVIII, 219-232 (Nov., 1946).
- The governing idea of the play is "justice deferred" until a final Judgment Day: "each character stands in expressive relation to this concept; each space-time image is focused in it."

[BEASLEY, J. M.] Sugrue, Thomas. "From Foxhole to Footlights." *SRL*, XXIX, 28-29 (March 16, 1946).

[BISHOP, J. P.] Stallman, R. W. "Bishop's *Behavior of the Sun*." *Expl.*, V, 6 (Oct., 1946).

———. "Bishop's *Perspectives Are Precipices*." *Expl.*, V, 8 (Nov., 1946).

[BROOKS, VAN WYCK] Cargill, Oscar. "The Ordeal of Van Wyck Brooks." *Coll. Eng.*, VIII, 55-61 (Nov., 1946).

In his latest books, Brooks demonstrates maturity through evoking all the poetic associations which a survey of the careers of our intellectuals can engender but abjuring their opinions, ideas, and thoughts, and offering no opinion of his own.

[BROWN, W. G.] Stephenson, W. H. "William Garrott Brown: Literary Historian and Essayist." *Jour. So. Hist.*, XII, 313-344 (Aug., 1946).

[BUTZ, CASPER] Johnson, H. B. "Casper Butz of Chicago—Politician and Poet." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XIII, 4-7, 9-11 (Aug., Oct., 1946).

[CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Frohock, W. M. "Erskine Caldwell: Sentimental Gentleman from Georgia." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXI, 351-359 (Autumn, 1946).

Caldwell's novels suffer from a multiplicity of meanings as interpretations of the comic, as serious, socially conscious reporting, and as exhibits of the picturesque: the result is an incompatibility suggestive of Caldwell's "own ambiguous attitude toward his materials."

[CATHER, WILLA] Brown, E. K. "Homage to Willa Cather." *Yale Rev.*, XXXVI, 77-92 (Sept., 1946).

A retrospect of Willa Cather's work shows her craftsmanship standing out with a definiteness and firmness of beauty against the general degradation of the art of fiction to mere journalism.

[CRANE, HART] Waggoner, H. H. "Hart Crane and the Broken Parabola." *Univ. Kan. City Rev.*, XI, 173-176 (Spring, 1945).

[DEVOTO, BERNARD] Thurston, Jarvis. "Bernard DeVoto and Criticism." *Rocky Mountain Rev.*, VII, 1, 9, 14-15 (Spring-Summer, 1943).

[DREISER, THEODORE] Flanagan, J. T. "Theodore Dreiser in Retrospect." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXI, 408-411 (Autumn, 1946).

Dreiser lacked humor, sensuousness, selective capacity, but he was a meticulous reporter, a fair storyteller, a sharp delineator of material or moral failures, and a "ruthless critic of exploitation and injustice and special privilege."

Ludlow, Francis. "Plodding Crusader." *Coll. Eng.*, VIII, 1-7 (Oct., 1946).

Dreiser lacked the minor graces of the novelist, but he was rich in qualities that make for greatness.

Ross, W. O. "Concerning Dreiser's Mind." *AL*, XVIII, 233-243 (Nov., 1946).

It is a mistake to characterize Dreiser as a mystic, for though he often reasons badly and reaches wrong conclusions, his method is that of the rationalist, ordered by observation, classification, and induction. Walcutt, C. C. "Naturalism in 1946; Dreiser and Farrell." *Accent*, VI, 263-267 (Summer, 1946).

[ELIOT, T. S.] Hall, Vernon, Jr. "Eliot's *La Figlia che Piange*." *Expl.*, V, 15 (Nov., 1946).

[FARRELL, JAMES] Walcutt, C. C. See DREISER above.

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Warren, R. P. "Cowley's Faulkner." *New Rep.*, CXV, 176-180, 234, 237 (Aug. 12, 26, 1946).

An essay-review of Malcolm Cowley's *The Portable Faulkner*.

[FROST, ROBERT] Bartlett, Donald. "A Friend's View of Robert Frost." *N. H. Troubadour*, XVI, 22-25 (Nov., 1946).

Clark, Sylvia. "Robert Frost: The Derry Years." *N. H. Troubadour*, XVI, 13-16 (Nov., 1946).

Cox, Sidney. "Robert Frost at Plymouth." *N. H. Troubadour*, XVI, 18-22 (Nov., 1946).

Frost, Robert. "The Constant Symbol." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 50-52 (Oct., 1946).

"Every single poem written regular is a symbol small or great of the way the will has to pitch into commitments deeper and deeper to a rounded conclusion. . . ."

Lambuth, David. "The Unforgettable Robert Frost." *N. H. Troubadour*, XVI, 25-29 (Nov., 1946).

Morse, Stearns. "Robert Frost and New Hampshire." *N. H. Troubadour*, XVI, 6-8 (Nov., 1946).

Polle, Ernest. "Robert Frost Was Here." *N. H. Troubadour*, XVI, 10-12 (Nov., 1946).

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Cunningham, C. C. "The Rhythm of Robinson Jeffers' Poetry as Revealed by Oral Reading." *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXII, 351-357 (Oct., 1946).

Hackman, Martha. "Whitman, Jeffers, and Freedom." *Prairie Schooner*, XX, 182-184 (Fall, 1946).

Jeffers should be recognized as a poet "not, like Whitman, of Democracy . . . but of individual human freedom."

[KEYES, F. P.] Bourgeois, M. K. "Lady of Letters." *Holland's Mag.*, XLV, 10, 24-25 (Dec., 1946).

A sketch of Frances Parkinson Keyes and her customary method of producing novels.

- [LATOUCHE, JOHN] Quinn, Sue. "The Artist and His Dream: An Interpretation of John Latouche." *Madison Quar.*, VI, 49-54 (March, 1946).
- [LEWIS, J. F.] Fletcher, J. G. "On the Poetry of James Franklin Lewis." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIII, 151-153 (Winter, 1946).
- Raymund, Bernard. "The Spiral Stair: On Some of the Later Poems of James Franklin Lewis." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIII, 153-154 (Winter, 1946).
- Waggoner, H. H. "Poet and Scientist." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIII, 148-151 (Winter, 1946).
- [MARQUIS, DON] Crowell, C. T. "The Fun of Don Marquis." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 129-131 (Nov., 1946).
- [MILLER, HENRY] Neiman, Gilbert. "No Rubbish, No Albatrosses: Henry Miller." *Rocky Mountain Rev.*, IX, 69-76 (Winter, 1945).
- [ODETS, CLIFFORD] Warshow, R. S. "Poet of the Jewish Middle Class." *Commentary*, I, 17-22 (May, 1946).
- [O'NEILL, EUGENE] Anon. "The Ordeal of Eugene O'Neill." *Time*, XLVIII, 71-72, 74-76, 78 (Oct. 21, 1946).
- Bentley, Eric. "The Return of Eugene O'Neill." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 64-66 (Nov., 1946).
- The use which O'Neill makes of his materials in *The Ice Man Cometh*, the meaning of the play, its merits, and its interpretations of life demonstrate that he holds his own in competition with such European masters as Sartre, Camus, and Brecht.
- Brown, J. M. "All O'Neilling." *SRL*, XXIX, 26-30 (Oct. 19, 1946).
- Isaacs, E. J. R. "Meet Eugene O'Neill." *Theatre Arts*, XXX, 567-587 (Oct., 1946).
- Nathan, Adele. "'Eugene G. O'Neill': 1916." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, Oct. 6, 1946, pp. 34-35.
- Reminiscences of O'Neill at Provincetown thirty years ago.
- Nathan, G. J. "O'Neill: A Critical Summation." *Am. Merc.*, LXIII, 713-719 (Dec., 1946).
- Though O'Neill lacks Shaw's intellectual gifts and O'Casey's poetic power, he has plumbed greater depths than either: he is the superior of both in dramaturgy.
- Roland, Betty. "O'Neill in Sidney." *Theatre Arts*, XXX, 527-530 (Oct., 1946).
- An account of *Mourning Becomes Electra* as produced in Australia.
- Woolf, S. J. "Eugene O'Neill Returns after Fifty Years." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, Sept. 15, 1945, pp. 11, 61-62.

[POUND, EZRA] Cerf, Bennett. "The Case of Ezra Pound." *SRL*, XXIX, 32-36, 49-53 (March 23, 1946).

Reactions to Mr. Cerf's decision (see *The Saturday Review of Literature*, February 9, 1946) to exclude Pound's poems from Conrad Aiken's new anthology of American poetry: 142 readers opposed exclusion, 140 approved, 7 were undecided.

Dillon, George. "A Note on the Obvious." *Poetry*, LXVIII, 322-325 (Sept., 1946).

Eliot, T. S. "Ezra Pound." *Poetry*, LXVIII, 326-339 (Sept., 1939).

Healy, J. V. "An Adjunct to the Muses' Diadem: A Note on E. P." *Poetry*, LXVIII, 339-340 (Sept., 1946).

[REED, JOHN] Madison, C. A. "John Reed: Rebel into Revolutionary." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIII, 97-109 (Winter, 1946).

[RICHTER, CONRAD] Sutherland, Bruce. "Conrad Richter's America." *New Mex. Quar. Rev.*, XV, 413-422 (Winter, 1945).

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Dell, Stanley. "Truth of History—History of Truth: A Comment on George Santayana's *The Idea of Christ in the Gospels*." *Chimera*, V, 41-51 (Autumn, 1946).

Santayana's "inversion of the phrase Spirit made Flesh . . . is embodied in a living philosophy of man."

[SCOTT, W. T.] Ciandi, John. "Winfield Townley Scott." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIII, 119-120 (Winter, 1946).

[STEIN, GERTRUDE] Rago, Henry. "Gertrude Stein." *Poetry*, LXIX, 93-97 (Nov., 1946).

Personal impressions of Miss Stein's return to Paris and resumption of her former busy life in the Rue Christine in 1945.

[STEVENS, WALLACE] Martz, L. L. "Wallace Stevens: The Romance of the Precise." *Yale Poetry Rev.*, II, 13-20 (Aug., 1946).

Vance, Will. "Wallace Stevens: Man Off the Street." *SRL*, XXIX, 8 (March 23, 1946).

[TARKINGTON, BOOTH] Bennett, C. D. "Booth Tarkington, 1869-1946: An Appreciation." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, II, 161-169 (Oct., 1946).

[WINTERS, YVOR] Swallow, Alan. "The Sage of Palo Alto." *Rocky Mountain Rev.*, IV, 1-3 (Spring-Summer, 1940).

West, R. B. "The Language of Criticism." *Rocky Mountain Rev.*, VIII, 12-13, 15 (Fall, 1943).

Examines the nature and quality of modern criticism, with special reference to Winters's *The Anatomy of Nonsense*.

[WINTHER, S. K.] Whicher, G. F. "Dane in America." *Forum*, CV, 450-454 (Nov., 1946).

A discussion of the novels of Sophus Keith Winther.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Wolfe, Thomas. "Writing Is My Life: Letters of Thomas Wolfe." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 60-66 (Dec., 1946).

Letters from Wolfe to Mrs. J. M. Roberts, an Asheville, N. C., teacher. The first of three installments.

[WOOLLCOTT, ALEXANDER] Brown, J. M. "A. Woolcott in Print." *SRL*, XXIX, 38-42, 40-44 (March 16, 23, 1946).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "Oxford University Press, American Branch Celebrates 50th Anniversary." *Pub. Weekly*, CL, 2204-2207 (Oct. 12, 1946).

———. "Scribner—A Century of Publishing." *Pub. Weekly*, CL, 1184-1195 (Sept. 7, 1946).

Cain, J. M., and Farrell, J. T. "Do Writers Need an 'AAA'?" *SRL*, XXIX, 9-10, 40-41, 44-45, 47 (Nov. 16, 1946).

Mr. Cain supports the proposed American Authors' Authority; Mr. Farrell objects to the organization of writers.

Cowley, Malcolm. "Limousines on Grub Street." *New Rep.*, CXV, 588-592 (Nov. 4, 1946).

How writers earned their livings from 1940 to 1946.

———. "Magazine Business: 1910-46." *New Rep.*, CXV, 521-523 (Oct. 21, 1946).

Dempsey, David. "Literature between Two Wars—and a Glance Ahead." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Aug. 18, 1946, p. 7.

———. "Uncle Tom's Ghost and the Literary Abolitionists." *Antioch Rev.*, IV, 442-448 (Fall, 1946).

A survey of novels and plays on the Negro.

Freedley, George. "The American National Theatre." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXI, 364-369 (Autumn, 1946).

The American National Theatre Foundation (established by act of Congress in 1935) has already been set up as to administration and planning.

Frey, J. R. "America and Franz Werfel." *Ger. Quar.*, XIX, 121-128 (March, 1946).

Gould, Jan. "The Negro in Show Business." *Antioch Rev.*, VI, 254-264 (Summer, 1946).

Hicks, Granville. "P-N Fiction." *Coll. Eng.*, VIII, 107-112 (Dec., 1946).

Psychoneurotic fiction cannot serve as substitute for scientific studies.

Hilton, James. "Literature and Hollywood." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXVIII, 130-136 (Dec., 1946).

Hutchins, J. K. "For Better or Worse, the Book Clubs." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, March 31, 1946, pp. 1, 24.

"Their organization, aims, methods—and the mass market they have created."

McPharlin, Paul. "The Spiral Press: Twenty Years." *Pub. Weekly*, CL, 2231-2236 (Oct. 12, 1946).

O'Connor, W. V. "The Color of Modern Poetry." *Poetry*, LXIX, 88-93 (Nov., 1946).

Except for the Imagists, Wallace Stevens, Conrad Aiken, Marianne Moore, E. E. Cummings, and a few others, modern American poets have not used color so extensively as their English or Irish contemporaries.

Spiller, R. E. "What Became of the Literary Radicals?" *New Rep.*, CXV, 664-666 (Nov. 18, 1946).

"If American literature today is a dominant world literature," such young men of the past as Bourne, Sherman, Frank, Mumford, Brooks, and Mencken "must take no small share of the credit."

Watts, Richard. "Postwar Broadway." *Am. Schol.*, XV, 558-570 (Autumn, 1946).

A review of trends and values in the American theater during 1945 and 1946, with recommendations for improving the quality of plays and their audience appeal.

V. GENERAL

Brayer, H. O. "Preliminary Guide to Indexed Newspapers in the United States, 1850-1900." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII, 237-255 (Sept., 1946).

Clough, W. O. "Regionalism." *Rocky Mountain Rev.*, III, 1-2 (Winter, 1938-1939).

Cowley, Malcolm. "American Books Overseas." *New Rep.*, CXV, 16-20 (July 8, 1946).

Glicksberg, C. L. "Negro Fiction in America." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLV, 477-488 (Oct., 1946).

Not until after World War I did the Negro's literature of protest emerge in full force; Richard Wright's *Native Son* is the "first portrait of the frustrated Negro in all his four-dimensional complexity."

———. "Negro Poets and the American Tradition." *Antioch Rev.*, VI, 243-253 (Summer, 1946).

Green, C. H. "North Carolina Books and Authors of the Year: A Review." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII, 228-238 (April, 1946).

Jillson, W. R. "A Bibliography of Lexington, Kentucky." *Reg. Ky. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIV, 151-186, 259-290 (July, Oct., 1946).

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